The Strength of Oakes

Pioneers Firm in Their Convictions

Daniel Webster Hallock

Embark on an epic odyssey through the annals of time with *The Strength of Oakes*. This spellbinding non-fiction narrative unveils the awe-inspiring journey of not just one, but four families—the Oakes, Whitings, Morleys, and Hulets—whose destinies became the very threads woven into the tapestry of history. From the heart-pounding battles of the Revolutionary War to the untamed frontiers of Ohio, the resilient souls who founded this dynasty will seize your imagination.

Dive into the intimate struggles and unyielding spirit of these pioneers as they forge paths through uncharted lands, find solace in faith during the earliest days of the Latter-day Saints Church, and weather the storms of persecution. Experience firsthand their relentless determination as they crisscross thousands of miles, embracing adventure with every move.

Unearth the treasures of the past through the lens of first-person accounts that bring history to life. Witness the indomitable courage that fueled their every step. Detailed maps chart their unyielding journey, while intricate genealogy charts illuminate the intricate web of connections that bound them together.

The Strength of Oakes isn't just a book—it's an immersive voyage across continents and generations. Join us in exploring the resilience, love, and unity that defined the Oakes legacy. Get ready to be captivated by their unbreakable bond, their unending determination, and their enduring strength in the face of adversity.

A printed version of this book can be found on Amazon. Ebook Generated April 28, 2026 (10:19am).

The Strength of Oakes

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2nd Edition

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Introduction

In the winter of 2022-23, I sat down to work on my dad's genealogy. He had researched the Hallock family for much of his life, and I wanted to get his research into Ancestry.com. I decided to start with my mother's ancestry first as it would be much easier giving me a simple way to learn to use Ancestry.com. I was wrong!

As I started putting together my mother's genealogy, I confirmed the general 'rumor' that her family had been in the Church of Jesus Christ at some time. In fact, not only did I confirm it, but I found her ancestors were there during the creation of the Church of Jesus Christ. Because they played an early role in the Church, there are many little biographical sketches written about them. Interesting facts and stories abounded.

I counted roughly 30 biographical sketches written about a handful of these ancestors. They were very interesting, but there was much duplication and some conflicting information. It was not very easy to see the big picture. I decided to merge all of the histories together into a single time line, and try to put together a single *story* following my mother's ancestors from roughly the Revolutionary War.

The Oakes, Whitings, Hulets, Morleys, and Murdocks were linked together tightly for several generations. They experienced life together, and I have tried to capture that feeling by grouping each generation rather than following each family separately.

I am not a historian nor am I a genealogist. For that matter, the only thing I have written before are technical manuals. While I have tried to maintain as much accuracy as possible, my sources may be wrong, or I may have incorrectly assembled the facts from these sources. When I found facts with different dates, I've tried to pick the most sensible date based on the other facts around them. For the most part, though, I believe what I have written is fairly accurate.

I greatly reduced the detail of historical events to keep the story simple. While I believe what I have written is correct, there is much detail omitted. If you find the history interesting, it is very easy to get detailed information from the Internet.

A very good book that briefly covers the overall history of the Whitings and the time from Cutler on in detail is *Obscure Believers* by Biloine Whiting Young. *Obscure Believers* uses the freely available *The Clitherall Story Book* as a major source. The *Clitherall Story Book* can be found on www.latterdaytruth.org.

Some history of the North Dakota period was found in the book *Trail of the Pioneers 1900-1967*. This includes the move to North Dakota written by Grace Oakes that corroborates Hazel Oakes' story.

Prior to this project, my knowledge of the Church of Jesus Christ and its history was very limited. This project prompted me to research some of the Church history. A Latter-day Saint friend told me about a Historical Fiction series called *The Work and The Glory* by Lund. This series goes through the forming of the Church of Jesus Christ in much detail. Lund does a great job distinguishing who is fiction and who is fact. Hazel Oakes' ancestor, Isaac Morley, even make an appearance in volume 2.

Those people, mainly in Missouri, that attacked the Latter-day Saints I will call mobocrats. I've seen Missourian, mob, and mobocrat used. Missourian is too broad and mob assumes plural. Mobocrat resolves both problems.

When listing a location name I use all of the detail available including city/town name, township name, county name, and state name. This can be verbose at times, but when initially researching the material, I found myself not sure exactly where events were occurring because location names were not fully qualified.

I will generally follow The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' Style Guide for the name of the Church and it's parishio-

ners:

> The proper name for the Church is *"The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints"* and the shortened version is *"Church of Jesus Christ"*. The proper name for members is “members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” and shorter version “Latter-day Saints”. When quoting another source, I will leave their usage as is.

I will also include this disclaimer from their style guide:

> When referring to people or organizations that practice polygamy, it should be stated that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is not affiliated with polygamous groups.

This story is from the point of view of Hazel Winifred Oakes. Most everyone mentioned is either her or her husband's ancestor. When listing a birth of a direct ancestor to Hazel, I will give that ancestor's relationship to her.

I've seen a few references that the Oakes originally came from Ireland. So far I've not found any conclusive evidence of that. Genealogists on Ancestry.com and Family Search indicate there are no definite ancestors to Selah Oakes.

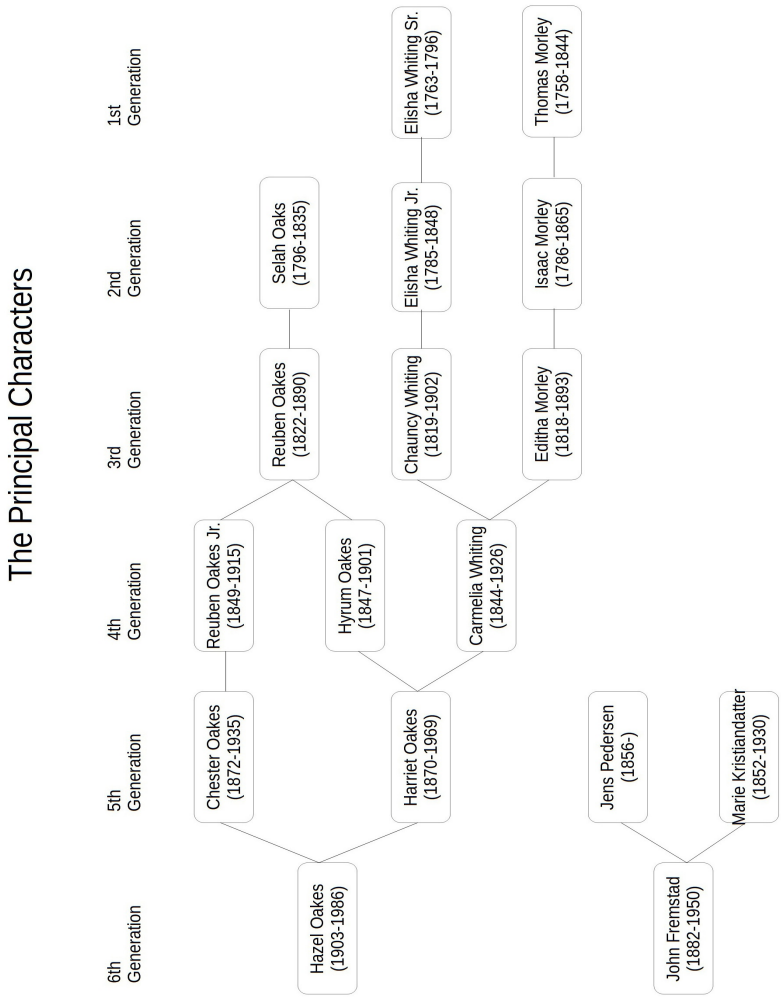
If corrections or additional information becomes available after printing, they can be found at www.xyfyx.com/oakes and the newer xyfyx.free.nf/oakes. You can also find this book as a PDF on archive.org.

If either of the above links go away, they have been registered with the Internet Archive which should make them available far into the future. If the above links no longer work, go to archive.org, and enter the above link. Archive.org will then guide you to locating an archived version of the web page.

Finally, I would like to thank Dave Harrington. This book would not exist if it hadn't been for him poking and prodding saying from day one that my notes could be a book.

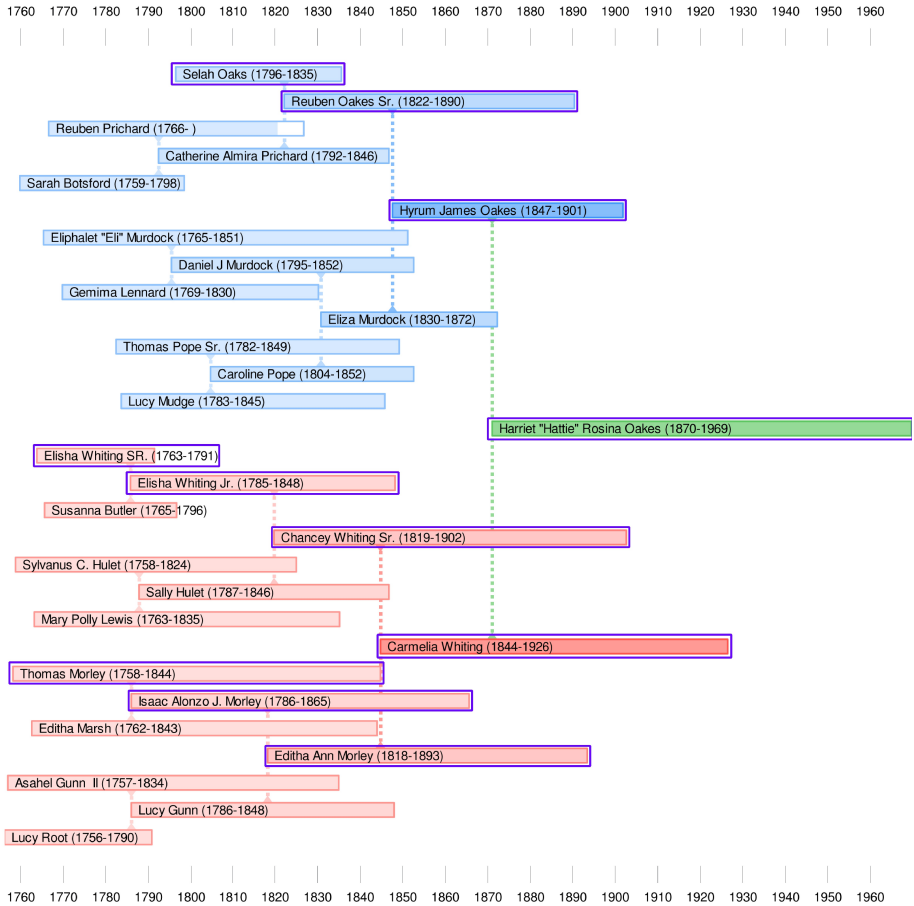
The Principal Characters

The following are Hazel Oakes' ancestors, and are principle characters in this story.



Pedigree Chart

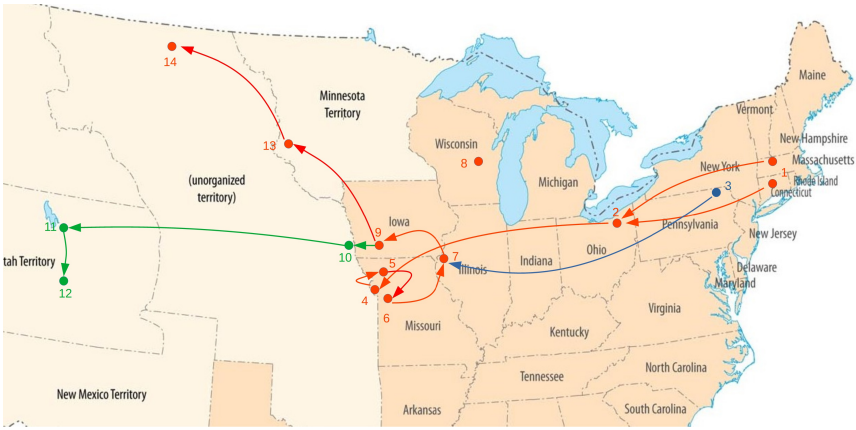
This pedigree chart helps illustrate the relationships up to Harriet Oakes (5th Gen).



5-Generation Pedigree of Harriet "Hattie" Rosina Oakes (1870-1969)

Map of Primary Locations

Hazel Oakes' ancestors moved frequently often because mobocrats attacked them wherever they went. The following map helps locate and identify many of the different locations where they resided.



Ancestor Movements

1. Hartford & Windham County, Connecticut; Montague, Massachusetts, 1750s: Whitings and Morleys are here.
2. Kirtland & Nelson, Ohio, 1811: Whitings and Morleys start migration to Ohio.
3. Niven, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, 1816: Oakes first appear in Susquehanna County,
4. Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, 1830: Whitings and Morleys move to Jackson.
5. Clay County, Missouri, 1834: Whitings and Morleys driven out of Jackson to Clay County.
6. Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, 1836: Whitings and Morleys driven out of Clay County to Far West
7. Nauvoo, Illinois, 1840: Oakes moved to Nauvoo while Whitings and Morleys are just a bit south in Morley's Settlement.
8. Wisconsin Pineries: Oakes brothers meet Cutler.
9. Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, 1846: All families are driven out of Nauvoo & Morley's Settlement to Mt. Pisgah.
10. Winter Quarters, Nebraska, 1847: Morleys move on to Winter Quarters.
11. Salt Lake Valley, 1848: Morleys make trek to Salt Lake Valley.
12. Manti, Utah, 1849: Morleys establish Manti, Utah.
-- Manti, Iowa, 1853 (not pictured): Cutlerites split from Church of Jesus Christ and go to Manti, just west of Mt. Pisgah.
13. Clitherall, Minnesota, 1864: Cutlerites go to Clitherall, Minnesota.
14. Williams Country, North Dakota, 1920: Oakes move to Williston.

The First Generation

The Puritans Come to the English Colonies

In 1607, the first English settlement of the new world was in Jamestown between present day Richmond and Norfolk. Though there were many hardships and many of the settlers died, the English had a foothold in the new world. Within just a few decades many more settlers would come.

The First Thanksgiving, Brownscombe 1914

On 17 Dec 1620, the Mayflower reached Plymouth Harbor, south of present day Boston. The Plymouth Colony was founded by the Pilgrims. While the Pilgrims were not Puritans, they disagreed with the Church of England, and left England for religious freedom. The Pilgrims' move to the Colonies opened the door for a Puritan migration.

Puritans in England wished to reform the Church of England. They felt the Church wasn't "protestant" enough. They wanted greater

purity of worship and doctrine. The Puritans started migrating to the Colonies to practice their own religion. There was a wave of Puritans that came to the Colonies in the 1620s and 1630s. While others were coming to the Colonies as well, this period is thought of as the Puritan migration.

The Colonies were largely populated by English immigrants. These early immigrants came in religious congregations, and settled in compact groups. They created self-governing towns centered around the church, school, and village green. For many generations, the Colonies retained a Puritan character.

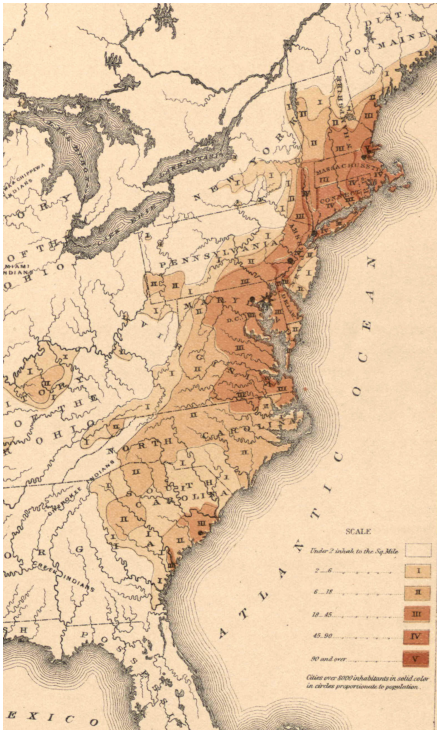
By 1640, the population of the Colonies was about 26,000. This is when Hazel Oakes' earliest ancestors came to the New World. The Hulets arrived in Massachusetts. The Whitings were not far away in Hartford, Connecticut. William Whiting, a merchant, was one of the original settlers of Hartford in 1640.

Interestingly, not far away from Hartford, on the north side of Long Island, the author's father's ancestors, The Hallocks, had also settled in the 1640s. 300 years later they would intermarry.

The Revolutionary War

Hazel Oakes' ancestors living just prior to the Revolutionary war is where this story will begin. These ancestors will be referred to as the *first generation.*

In 1750, the population of the Colonies had grown to 1.2 million. A substantial increase in the 100



Population Density - 1790 Census

years since the Puritan migration had begun.

Two of the *first generation* are **born** in 1758. Those of this generation are the Great X 4 (great-great-great-great) grandparents of Hazel Oakes.

Thomas Morley was **born** on March 26 in Glastonbury, Hartford County, Connecticut. **Sylvanus Hulet** was **born** on November 7 in Killingly, Windham County, Connecticut. They were born about 30 miles apart.

A few years later, two more are born:

Elisha Whiting Sr. was **born** on 21 Nov 1762 in Hartford Connecticut. **Mary Polly Lewis** was **born** on 3 Apr 1763 in Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

When Sylvanus Hulet was five years old (1763), the Hulets moved to the frontier of Berkshire County, Massachusetts. This was the same location where is his future wife, Mary Polly Lewis, was living. When Sylvanus was young, he probably had some education as it is known he could read and write.

On 16 Dec 1773, colonists protested a British enforced tax on tea by throwing the Boston Tea Party. This was one of the factors leading to the Revolutionary War. The *Shot Heard 'Round the World* happened on 19 Apr 1775, and the Revolutionary War began. By this time the young men Thomas, Sylvanus, and Elisha Sr. were old enough to serve, and all three did.

Although Elisha Whiting Sr. was a sea captain, he served in the ground forces. Elisha served from 1775 to 1783. He was a private in Captain Ozias Bissell's company in the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Morley served as a private in the Connecticut Militia, January 1776 to January 1777 under the command of Captain Wells and Colonel Cook. In August 1777, in the same regiment, he served under Captain Bidwell for two months. He served again in

Boston Tea Party

July 1779 for another two months. Thomas's service record can be found in an application to the Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution.

Life doesn't stop for war nor did it for Thomas Morley. On 14 Feb 1779, **Thomas married Editha Marsh** in Monteague, Hampshire County, Massachusetts.

On 8 Jul 1779, Sylvanus enlisted as a private in the Massachusetts Militia in Tyringham, Berkshire Country, Massachusetts. He was in the 13th regiment under Captain Abram Williams and Colonel Sprout. During the winter of 1779 to 1780, when the American army wintered in New Jersey, he was at Totowa, New Jersey.

Sylvanus fought in the Battle of New London on 6 Sep 1781. In this battle, Benedict Arnold led British forces to attack New London, Connecticut - not far from where Sylvanus was born. The British forces succeeded in burning most of New London to the ground. Sylvanus left the army shortly afterwards in 1781.

The Second Generation

As the Revolutionary War drew to a close, Sylvanus, Thomas, and Elisha moved on with their lives. Just days after the conclusion of the war, on 25 Mar 1784, **Elisha Whiting Sr. married Susannah Butler** in West Hartford, Hartford County, Connecticut. Not long after, Elisha Sr. and Susannah's child, **Elisha Whiting Jr.**, **born** on 17 Dec 1785. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut. Elisha Whiting Jr., and those of the second generation are the great X 3 grandparents of Hazel Oakes.

Elisha Whiting Jr.'s Youth

When Elisha Jr. was no older than six, his father was already gone. Some records state he died; however, there is a record that Susannah filed for divorce in 1792:

> "...she hath every reason to believe from credible reports and letters written by the said Elisha to strangers, that he is married again in some of the southern states without the least design of returning again, or having the remotest regard to the petitioner or his children. Wherefore she humbly prays your Honor's gracious considerations in the premises and to grant her a Bill of Divorce from her marriage contract with the said Elisha..." (Dated at Hartford, Connecticut, 14 Feb 1792)

Susannah was left alone with three small children to raise. Now poor, and not knowing what else to do, she bound Elisha Jr. as an apprentice to an old Quaker who was to teach Elisha the carpentry trade.

Unfortunately, the old Quaker was very cruel to Elisha. Though unhappy with his situation, Elisha did learn the carpentry and wheelwright (making of wooden wheels) trades. He learned to value the skills he acquired during his apprenticeship. Those skills were passed down to many of his heirs: from Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Utah, and Minnesota, his sons would make wagons wheels, and chairs for their own and to sell.

Making Wagon Wheels

Eventually, Elisha Jr. had enough of his Quaker master, and ran away to make his own way in the world. He was unhappy and resentful of this period for the rest of his life. His lips were sealed to his children and grand children as far as any experiences of his youth were concerned. They say he was bitter about his youth until the day he died.

Elisha Jr.'s mother, **Susannah Whiting, died** in 1796 at the age of 30. Elisha was only 12 at the time probably compounding his resentment.

Raising the Second Generation

A couple years later, 1786, finds **Sylvanus Hulet married to Mary Lewis**. Mary Lewis was believed to be of partial (1/8 or 1/16) Indian decent. Reportedly, she was a decedent of an Indian named Running Deer.

That same year, **Lucy Gunn** was **born** on January 24, in Monta-

gue, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. When Lucy was young, she learned how to cure meat and, preserve other foods. She learned to sew, spin, card wool, and make clothing by hand. Skills she would need when she moved into the Ohio wilderness.

Shortly afterwards, Lucy Gunn's future husband, **Isaac Morley**, was **born** on 11 Mar 1786, also in Montague. Isaac will become one of the most historically significant figures of this story.

A year later, Sylvanus and Mary Hulet moved to be next to Sylvanus' family at Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. They settled in Lee on a farm that was jointly owned with Sylvanus's brother Samuel. Like Elisha, Sylvanus was a wheelwright, and their farm consisted of mills, forges, and shops.

Shortly after moving to Lee, Sylvanus and Mary had a little girl, **Sally Hulet**, **born** 29 Oct 1787 in Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

In 1790, The *Second Great Awakening* religious movement began,

A Religious Revival During The Second Great Awakening

lasting until the 1840s. This was the second great religious revival in America, the first being from the 1730s to 1750s. The Great Awakening focused on non-believers, and sought to install within them a deep sense of personal salvation as experienced in revival meetings. It also sparked the beginnings of religious groups such as the Latter-day Saints and the Adventists.

Catherine Almira Prichard was **born** on 30 May 1792, in New Haven County, Connecticut.

Just across the sound, on Long Island, her future husband, **Selah Oaks** is **born** 4 years later in 1796. Often one will find Selah Oaks called James Selah Oaks, but there is no evidence his name was ever James.

Opening of Western Lands

In 1800, the population of the still young United States was a mere

Map of Western Reserve

5,300,000; however, there was already an interest in westward migration. Most of England's former colonies had claims to unsettled lands to their west based on royal charters and grants. All of the states ended up giving these lands to the federal government except Connecticut. Connecticut had a 1662 charter claiming a huge area of land reaching to the "South Sea". Connecticut reserved part of this claim for use to compensate its citizens who had suffered losses due to the Revolutionary war. This was called the Western Reserve, and it was an extension of New England into the west.

In 1800, Connecticut and the United States agreed to attach the Western Reserve to the Ohio Territory. This connected the two territories, creating a migration path from the east coast to Ohio. After the war of 1812, Portage County, Ohio, started drawing many settlers west from Connecticut.

President Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, adding 828,000 square miles to the United States. This added the area of

The Louisiana Purchase

land from the Mississippi River to the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the United States. This land would become the future home of Hazel Oakes' ancestors.

Coming of Age

1803 is also when **Elisha Whiting Jr. ran away** from his Quaker master to make his own way in the world. He left West Hartford, Hartford Country, Connecticut, and ended up in Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

After Elisha arrived in Lee, he met Sylvanus Hulet, also a wheelwright. Elisha asked for a job, assuring Sylvanus he could do carpentry work as well as make chairs and furniture. Sylvanus hired him.

While working in the Hulet shop, Elisha met Sylvanus' daughter Sally. Sally was a small, dark-eyed, brunette girl of charm and Indian descent. She was a gifted writer of prose and poetry.

Elisha and Sally were **married** on 18 Sep 1804, in Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Thus, the *second generation* of Hazel Oakes' ancestors were largely in place: Elisha and Sally Whiting, Isaac and Lucy Morley, and Selah Oaks and Catherine Prichard, though Selah and Catherine are not yet married.

In the spring of 1811, at the age of 25, Isaac Morley headed to the Western Reserve in North East Ohio in search of a farm and home. He could purchase land for $2 an acre. He found land near two springs in the Kirtland Township of Lake County, Ohio. Isaac purchased land, and built a log cabin on it. This was one of the first cabins built in the area that would later become the town of Kirtland.

Once his home was ready, Isaac returned to Massachusetts to marry his childhood sweet heart, Lucy Gunn. On 20 Jun 1812, **Isaac Morley married Lucy Gunn** in Greenfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts.

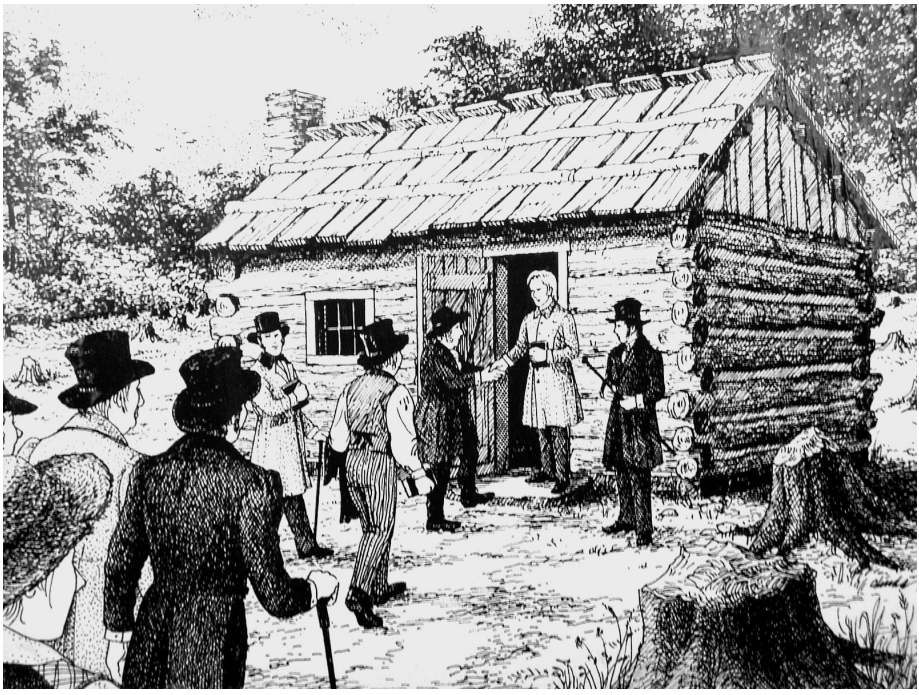
Bombardment of Ft. Henry - the Inspiration for Star Spangled Banner

A mere three day later, June 23, they were on their way to Kirtland to start their new life together. They were some of the earliest settlers in the Western Reserve wilderness of Northern Ohio. When they arrived in the Kirtland area, there was no store, no church, no neighbors, nor mail service.

The War of 1812

Isaac and Lucy arrived in Kirtland just in time for the beginning of The War of 1812. Like their fathers in the Revolutionary War, Elisha Whiting Jr. and Isaac Morley fought for their country in the War.

Elisha was a private in the 1st Regiment of the Connecticut Militia. Isaac was in the 3rd Regiment of the Ohio Militia. According to his military records he played the fife in the drum and bugle corp.



The Morley Family Commune

Selah Oaks was 16 at the time of the war. Most likely he was too young to serve. There are no service records for him.

Isaac Morley's Farm

After 3 months of military service, Isaac became very ill, and was dismissed from further service. He returned to Lucy in Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. For the entire duration of Isaac's military service, Lucy was completely alone in the wilderness of Ohio in constant fear of wild animals and Indian attacks.

When Isaac returned to their farm, he worked very hard to make it productive. The farm was a half mile long and a quarter mile wide. It had an orchard of fruit trees and maple trees for syrup. They grew wheat, corn, buckwheat, rye, and vegetables, and had 15 milk cows.

Owenites

Robert Owen brought communitarianism (social organization in a small collectivist community) ideas to the United States in 1824 and there was a short-lived fad of collective living often called Owenite Communities. The 'Morley Family' was most likely influenced by this movement. Almost all of these communities disappeared quickly either due to internal dissent or the inability to generate a surplus of goods to pay for their needs. (We will see this attempted once again with Chauncy Whiting to the same result).

Isaac was a cooper (a maker of barrels, casks, and tubs). Like Sylvanus Hulet, and Elisha Whiting Jr. he was also a wheelwright.

The Morley farm and family prospered, and they eventually built a nice house in which to live.

Isaac took part in political and religious activities in Kirtland. He joined the Stone-Campbell Restoration Movement (the Campbellites). The Campbellites were committed to restoring primitive Christianity - returning to a purer and more ancient form of Christianity.

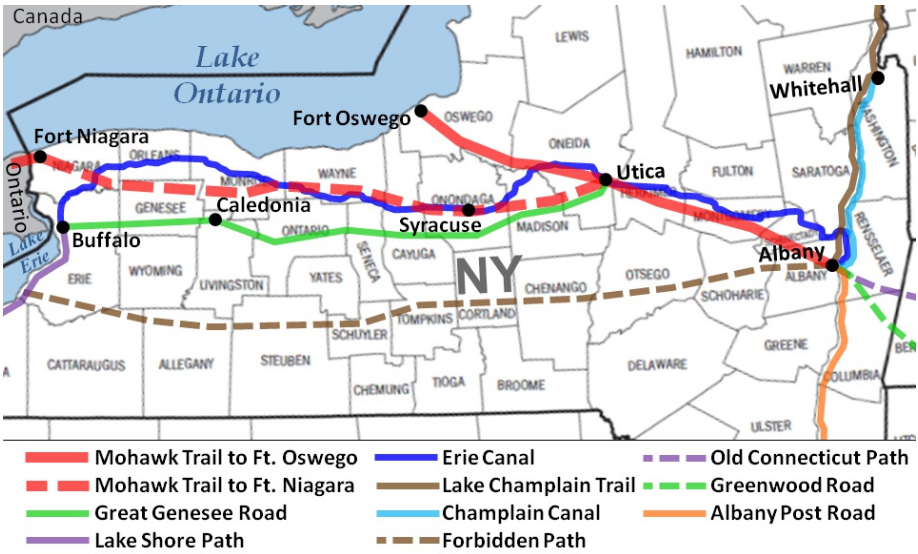
He was also one of the leaders of the Owenites society that practiced communal principles. His farm was sometimes called the 'Morley Family' because a number Owenites lived on his farm.

In 1815, Isaac's parents, Thomas and Editha Morley, arrived from Massachusetts. They settled near Isaac on the Chagrin river. **Thomas Morley remained there** on his homestead until the end of his life in 1844.

The Hulets and Whitings Migrate to Ohio

Being a Connecticut Revolutionary War veteran, Sylvanus Hulet was granted land in the Connecticut Reserve. The land granted was in Nelson Township, Portage County, Ohio.

In 1814, The Hulet family left Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts for Portage County, Ohio. Their destination, Nelson, was



Migration Trails

roughly 30 miles south of Kirtland where the Morleys were already settled. Sylvanus may have decided to go to Nelson because it was heavily wooded with timber well-suited for carpentry. He may also have chosen to go to Nelson to give his sons better opportunities.

Elisha Jr. and Sally Whiting stayed at Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, rather than following the other Hulets to Ohio, possibly because Sally was expecting a baby. On 16 Aug 1815, their second daughter, Harriet Whiting was born. Not long after, Elisha, Sally, and their family moved to Nelson Township, Ohio, as well. Lee, Berkshire County, Massachusetts is about 30 miles Southeast of Albany. The Whiting family traveled by wagon on the Greenwood Road to Albany. It is written from there they followed the Mohawk trail. Several years later, the Erie canal would follow nearly the same path making the trip faster and safer, but that was yet not an option for the Whitings.

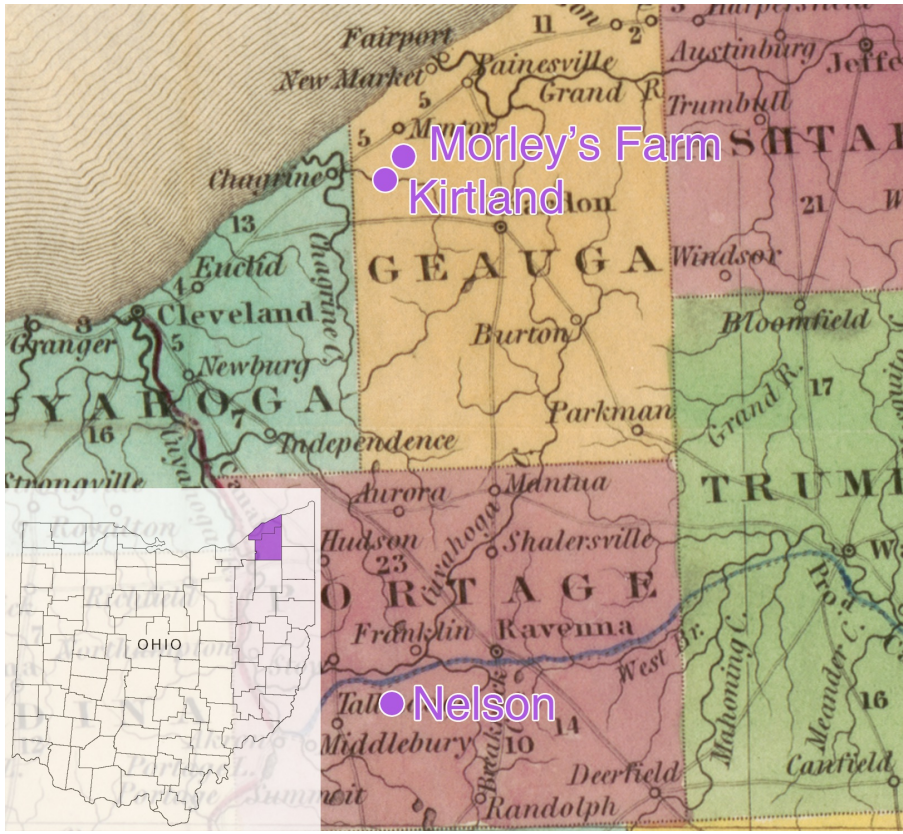
From Buffalo, the Whitings would have then most likely followed the Lake Shore Path on to Nelson, Portage County, Ohio near present day Cleveland. It took three weeks for them to complete

this journey of about 500 miles.

Elisha Jr. chose a pleasant spot on a gently sloping hill overlooking the valley to erect his log cabin. At the foot of the hill was a spring of clear cold water. The home had two rooms on the ground floor: one for a shop and the other living quarters.

Sara Jane Talcot (also known as Jenny Whiting), Elisha and Sally's granddaughter-in-law, described their living quarters in *Life on the Farm in Portage*:

> The house contained only one large room below with a huge fireplace reaching nearly across one end. There were no nice cook stoves or ranges in those days, and Sally had to cook over



Kirtland Area - 1830s

the fire in the fireplace. It was furnished with a great crane to swing out and in over the fire to which could be attached iron hooks of different lengths to hang kettles and other cooking utensils on.

For baking, she had a large shallow kettle with an iron cover, called a "bake kettle," and when her bread was ready to bake, she would knead it into one large loaf, place it in the kettle, put the iron cover on, and set the kettle on some coals she had raked out on the stone hearth. Then taking a long handled shovel, she would shake coals all over the cover and leave it to bake. Delicious bread it was when it was baked and ready for the table.

Opposite the fireplace they had beds, and ranged around the room in different places were their cupboard, table, and chairs and a large chest in which to keep clothes and other things. They had brought an old fashioned bureau made of black walnut which was the pride of Sally's heart. [other references say Elisha made the bureau] She had a mirror, too, hanging over a shelf her husband made for her, and when she had her things all arranged to her satisfaction she thought her home was very cozy and pleasant.

They had no lamps in those days, but in the evening they would build great blazing fires in the big fireplace and then set fire to pine knots which they used in place of candles and which, with the blazing logs in the fireplace, lighted up the room pretty well; and what pleasant evenings they spent sitting around the fire, Sally busy with her knitting, the boys listening to stories their father would tell of his adventures in his boyhood days.

Above the large room was a loft where the boys - William, Edwin, and Charles slept. I think Mother [Catherine Louisa] and her little sister, Emeline, slept in a trundle bed which was pushed under their Mother's bed when not in use. After a while, more boys and girls came and the house became so crowded that Elisha built a frame house with more rooms in it.

> Catherine and Emeline had a bedroom upstairs and their mother had one downstairs, large enough for her bed and the trundle bed in which little Harriet and Jane slept – until so many little brothers came they too had to have a room upstairs.
>
> They worked hard, and after a while had tallow candles to use in place of pine knots, and Elisha built himself a shop and made wagons and chairs to sell and could make many pieces of furniture for the house, as the older boys were now large enough to do farm work.

Many years later, Chancey Whiting wrote of his childhood home:

> My father emigrated to Portage County, Ohio. He selected a location in Nelson Township where he opened a small farm in a heavily timbered section of the country. In the meantime, he built a double log house, one room of which he used for a dwelling, the other for a wagon shop. It was in that building that I was born.

Sally and Elisha Jr. were some of the most respected citizens of Nelson. They were honest, generous, and firm in their convictions.

Although settlers continued to come to Ohio, Portage County remained largely a land of forests and streams. School was held in the summer time when it was easier for the children to find their way along the narrow roads through the forest.

On 25 Jan 1818, Isaac and Lucy Morley would welcome **Editha Ann Morley** into the world in Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. A year later, on 19 Aug 1819, her future husband, **Chancey Whiting** was **born** to Elisha Jr. and Sally Whiting. They are of the Third generation, and Hazel Oakes' great-great grandparents.

A Rose by any Other Name...

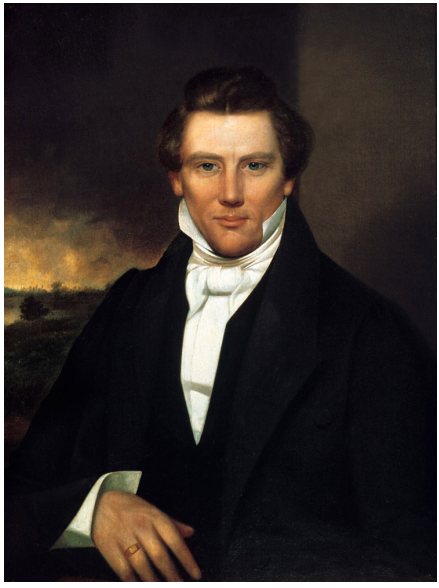
Chancey can be found spelled as Chauncey, Chauncy, or Chancey. The author has selected the Chancey spelling as that is on his gravestone.

Sylvanus Hulet died on 10 Nov 1824, leaving his extended family, including the Whitings, in Nelson, Portage County, Ohio.

Birth of the Church of Jesus Christ

Although the Church of Jesus Christ was not founded until 1830, many of its formative events occurred in the 1820s. During this decade, areas of western and central New York were the location of many religious revivals. They were also where many religious movements of the Second Great Awakening occurred. These revivals happened to such an extent, and with such spiritual fervor, *it seemed to set the area on fire* and so the area became known as the "burned-over district".

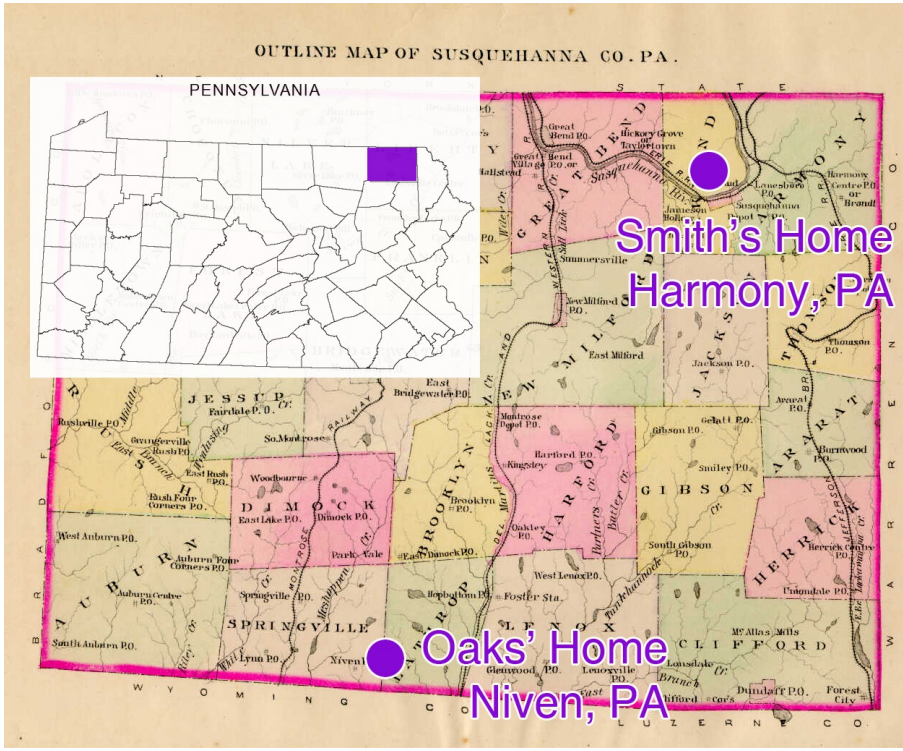
Joseph Smith Jr. was **born** 23 Dec 1805 in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. In 1816, his family moved from Vermont to a farm near Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. Palmyra was part of the Burned-Over District. Smith experienced many of these intense religious revivals as an impressionable boy.



Joseph Smith Jr.

In the early 1820s, Palmyra was the scene of many of these revivals as the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers competed for members. In his teens, Joseph found the conflicting claims of these denominations to be confusing. His mother attended Presbyterian services and his father, Joseph Sr., avoided affiliation with any of them.

Unable to decide on his own which of these denominations were correct, he went to a grove on his father's farm, and prayed to God for guidance. He saw a pillar of light which held a *divine being*. He



Map of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania

asked this being which church he should join. He was told he should not join any as they all had turned away from the Gospel, and failed to keep the commandments of the Lord.

In 1823, when Joseph Jr. was 17, he had another *revelation*. An *angel* called Moroni told Joseph about a record on plates of gold containing the history of the ancient inhabitants of North America. Four years later, on 22 Sep 1827, he was allowed to see and translate the pages with divine assistance into what would become the *Book of Mormon*. In March 1830, the Palmyra newspaper announced the publication of the *Book of Mormon*, and the Church of Jesus Christ followed shortly.

Smith and his followers moved west in 1831, planning to build a communal American Zion. They first gathered in Kirtland, Lake

County, Ohio, and soon established an outpost in Independence, Jackson Country, Missouri, which was intended to be Zion's *center place*. Zion was central in that it was to be a model for the establishment all subsequent settlements.

Selah Oaks Establishes His Family

Being the youngest of the second generation, **Selah Oaks married Catherine Almira Prichard** in 1816. They were married in Pennsylvania, most likely in Springville, Susqeuhanna County. Their second son, **Reuben Oakes Sr.**, Hazel Oakes' great grandfather was **born** on 5 Mar 1822. Reuben and the rest of the Oakes children were born in Niven, Springville Township, Susquehanna, Pennsylvania.

From 1825 to 1831, Joseph Smith Jr. lived along the Susquehanna River near Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (present day Oakland, Pennsylvania). Niven, where the Oakes lived, is 25 miles southwest of Harmony. Some of the earliest converts to the Church of Jesus Christ, such as Selah and Catherine Oaks, came from this thickly wooded and sparsely populated area.

By 1830, the Oakes were in Niven, Pennsylvania; the Morleys were in Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio; and the Whitings/Hulets were in Nelson, Ohio.

Joseph Smith's House Susquehanna, Pennsylvania in 1907

The Oakes, Morleys, Hulets, and Whitings would soon convert to The Church of Jesus Christ. By doing so they would become linked to such a degree that they, and other families, would form a mobile colony: interdependent, inter-knit, and intermingled. During their migration across the continent, these families maintained their close ties, and worked together founding several settlements.

The Morleys Join the Church

In 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ was introduced to Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. Isaac Morley was introduced to the teachings of Joseph Smith, Jr. when Oliver Cowdery and several LDS missionary companions passed through Ohio. By November 1830, Isaac and his family were baptized into the Church.

Joseph Smith had been persecuted from the time he had started publicly stating his *revelations*, and staying in the Fayette, Seneca County, New York, area had become risky. In January 1831, Joseph Smith was told by God, in a revelation, to move the Church of Jesus Christ to Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio from Fayette.

While still in Fayette, the Smiths had become close friends with the Morleys. When the Smiths moved to Kirtland, they stayed with the Morleys at their house until the next spring. That spring, Isaac built a house for Joseph Smith and his wife, Emma, on Isaac's property. Joseph Smith lived on the Morley farm for six months.

In 1831, when Joseph Smith arrived in Kirtland, he brought a group of his followers. They and the local members built a community that served as the headquarters to the fledgling religion. Seven years later, when they moved on to Missouri, they had grown to 2,000 members, built the Church's first temple, and organized the Church.

On 3 Jun 1831, Isaac Morley was ordained a high priest in the Church of Jesus Christ. Isaac was then called to go to Jackson County, Missouri, to find another location for the Latter-day Saints

to settle. This would be Zion. He walked all the way from Ohio to Missouri testifying to others along the way. In August, he arrived at Jackson County, Missouri, and secured a location for the Church near Independence.

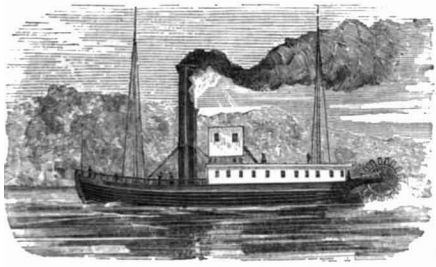
That same month, he was told by the Church that God wanted him to sell his land in Kirtland, use the proceeds for building Zion, and to move his family to Missouri. Isaac hesitated, and was *rebuked* on 2 Sept 1831. A few days later on September 11, the Lord explained why he commanded the farm be sold. The revelation is recorded in Church doctrine:

> As the owner of the farm, he [Morley] was not a safe counselor. When he had been released from the responsibilities of the ownership of land, his talents could be fully utilized.

In October 1831, Isaac and Lucy sold their farm. As one biographer stated: This was the last comfortable home in which Lucy would live for the rest of her life.

In late 1831, Isaac, Lucy, and their family moved from Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, the future city of Zion.

They traveled over 100 miles by land to get to the Ohio River. Once at the Ohio River, the water level was too low so a steamboat could not reach them. Instead, they had to take a keelboat which was propelled by oars. As they traveled down the river, it started raining hard. The keelboat started taking on water, and they became stuck on a sand bar. As they tried to free the keelboat, a steamboat happened by, and rescued them.



Early Steamboat

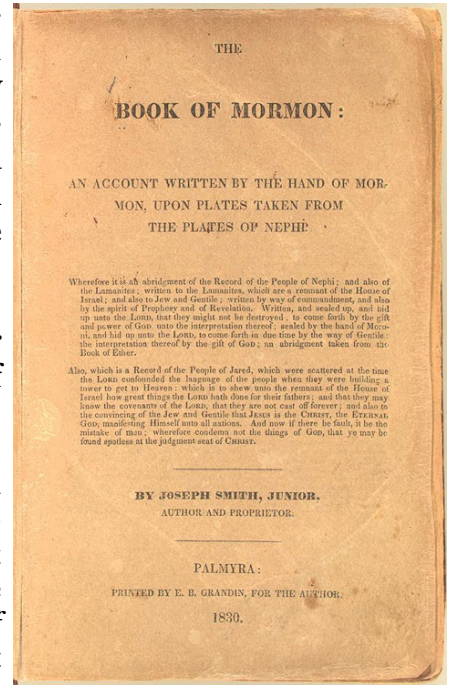
Being November, it was very cold, and the Ohio River was icing over. The steamboat could take them only so far down the river. They

were offloaded 100 miles away from their final destination. To complete the last leg of the trip, they needed to hire mules and a wagon, but they couldn't set out until the road was passable. Finally, in February 1832, the Morley family made it to their new home in Jackson County, Missouri.

The Whitings & Hulets' Conversion

In early 1830, Sylvester Hulet, Sally Hulet Whitings' brother, went on a business trip traveling from Nelson to Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. There he met Oliver Cowdery, one of Joseph Smith's close followers. Oliver had been one of the few selected to see the gold plates given to Joseph Smith by the angel Moroni. Sylvester returned home with a copy of the *Book of Mormon,* and the Hulets and Whitings read it.

By May 1830, Joseph Smith Jr. visited the Hulet home to proselytize, and convince them to join his Church. He told them of how he found the gold plates containing the *Book of Mormon*, and how he had translated them through divine guidance with the aid of Oliver Cowdery.



THE

BOOK OF MORMON:

AN ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF MORMON, UPON PLATES TAKEN FROM THE PLATES OF NEPHI

Wherefore it is an abridgment of the Record of the People of Nephi; and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites, which are a remnant of the House of Israel; and also to Jew and Gentile; written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of Prophecy and of Revelation. Written, and sealed up, and hid up unto the LORD, that they might not be destroyed; to come forth by the gift and power of GOD unto the interpretation thereof; sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the LORD, to come forth in due time by the way of Gentile; the interpretation thereof by the gift of GOD; an abridgment taken from the Book of Ether.

Also, which is a Record of the People of Jared, which were scattered at the time the LORD confounded the language of the people when they were building a tower to get to Heaven: which is to shew unto the remnant of the House of Israel how great things the LORD hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the LORD, that they are not cast off forever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting Himself unto all nations. And now if there be fault, it be the mistake of man; wherefore condemn not the things of GOD, that ye may be found spotless at the judgment-seat of CHRIST.

BY JOSEPH SMITH, JUNIOR.
AUTHOR AND PROPRIETOR.

PALMYRA:
PRINTED BY E. B. GRANDIN, FOR THE AUTHOR.
1830.

Book of Mormon Cover Page, Original 1830 Edition

Catherine Hulet, granddaughter of Sylvanus and daughter of Charles Hulet, recalled the event:

> The Prophet Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt came to my father's house, and the Prophet bore testimony to finding the plates containing The *Book of Mormon*. Although being but eleven years old at the time, I well remember it.

Sally Whiting was convinced by Joseph Jr. the truth of the Church, and on 29 Oct 1830 she was baptized. Much of the rest of her family was baptized shortly afterwards, **except** Elisha Jr. He would hold out longer than the rest of his family.

By 1832, most of the Hulets had left for Missouri along with Elisha's son, William, and William's family. They had moved to the Whitmer Settlement which was in Kaw Township, about 6 miles west of Independence.

Meanwhile, Elisha Jr. and Sally Whiting stayed in Ohio, but moved to Windham, Portage County. The great hardwood forests in Windham supplied excellent materials for the chairs and furniture made by Elisha Jr. Though separated by religion, the family was still united, and worked together.

Elisha was the one member of the Whiting family that had resisted the Church of Jesus Christ. Elisha's first reaction when learning of Joseph Smith and the Church was "I wish I had Joe Smith on my work bench. It'd be a pleasure to saw his head off with my hand saw."

It is hard to know how serious Elisha's disdain for Joseph Smith might have been, but his sympathies clearly did not lay with the Latter-day Saints, their prophet, nor their cause. It could have been said it would take a miracle for Elisha to become a Latter-day Saint. According to Lester Whiting, a grandson, that is exactly what happened.

> Grandfather Elisha Whiting...moved into Ohio, where my father, Lewis Whiting, was born on 22 Sep 1830. He [Lewis] was the youngest of a family of thirteen children, six girls and seven boys.
>
> Here in Ohio the *Angel Message* came to them, and Grandmother [Sally] Whiting with some of the older children were baptized. Grandfather was an objector to this new religion and made life miserable for the members of the family who had

> joined the Church...
>
> While in this frame of mind, he was taken sick with some sort of fever, which baffled the doctor who came many times to treat him. Eventually the doctor refused to continue his visits, saying he had done everything in his power and it was useless to make any further expense for the family.
>
> Finally, when [Elisha's] death was near – in fact the death hiccoughs had set in and his jaws became set, so that it was necessary to pry open his mouth with a spoon to administer a little water or liquid nourishment from time to time – Grandmother approached him again, as she had many times during his illness, asking if she might send for an elder. While he was unable to speak, he made some sign of willingness. An elder who lived nearby was summoned at once and administered to him. Immediately his hiccoughs ceased, his jaws loosened, and he asked for food, which was brought at once. Here was a case of instant healing, and on the fourth day following, the ice in the river was opened and Grandfather was baptized. He became a staunch defender of the faith from that time.

In 1835 or 1836, Elisha and his family moved to Clay County, Missouri, just north of Independence. Elisha's son Chancey wrote in a letter to a Mrs. Jensen that they moved first to Clay County, but they did not remain long. Mob violence against the Latter-day Saints was becoming a problem in Clay County by that time. Chancey also said that before they left, his mother Sally had packed a chest with some of their most precious possessions including their Bible. She entrusted it to a friend, and it was never returned.

The Oakes Turn to the Church of Jesus Christ

There is no record of the date or reason why the Oakes family converted to the Church of Jesus Christ. **Selah Oaks died** in 1835. Perhaps they converted while he was still living, or perhaps the Church aided Catherine Oaks and her family after his death, and she decided to join.

There is a source that says Selah did not die, but moved south and abandoned his family. In 1938, Lizzy Oakes Anderson, Selah's granddaughter, said she had years earlier received a post card from Selah from some place in the south saying he was still alive and in his 90s. If so, then Selah and Catherine had divorced, or Selah had abandoned his family.

By 1836, most of the Latter-day Saint settlers in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, had left the county to connect with the Latter-day Saint settlements in Missouri. Catherine Prichard Oaks and her family had probably left for Missouri with them.

The widowed Catherine Oaks was living in Daviess County, Missouri by 1838. This was just north of Clay County, Missouri where the Whitings were residing.

Mobocrat Violence in Missouri

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ slowly migrated from New York and Ohio starting in 1831. They mostly settled in Jackson County, Missouri, near Independence. There, tensions with mobocrats, those who disliked Latter-day Saints to the point of violence, led to repeated attacks on the Latter-day Saints.

Hostilities towards the Latter-day Saints had occurred even before the inception of the Church of Jesus Christ, but the violence increased once they were in Missouri.

There were various reasons for this violence. The Latter-day Saint's critical view of the existing Christian denominations was one such reason. Joseph Smith believed the other churches had fallen short of their own standards, and he felt restoration was necessary. This negative view of the Catholic and Protestant churches angered the leaders of those churches which drove them to persecute the Latter-day Saints.

The government was alarmed by some of the doctrines and beliefs of the Church of Jesus Christ. It believed those doctrines undermined civil order. As example, the Church's acceptance of polygamy created controversy and hatred toward them.

Joseph Smith Tarred and Feathered, 1832

This was also the time of the Missouri Compromise. It was federal legislation that balanced the desire of northern states to prevent expansion of slavery and southern states to expand it. The Missouri Compromise admitted Missouri into the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state.

The Latter-day Saints were largely from northern states and did not keep slaves. Many of the Missourian residents were originally from southern states. The Latter-day Saint's anti-slave attitude posed a threat to the Missourian slave owners, leading them to persecute the Latter-day Saints.

The Latter-day Saints were industrious, unified, capable, and worked diligently. As their villages and towns grew, the other inhabitants of Missouri were threatened. The Missourian leaders feared they would loose their political power to the ever-growing Latter-day Saint population.

Individually, any one of these issues could have created conflict. Together, they were just too much of a threat and violence ensued.

Jackson County Violence

By 1832, Isaac Morley and his family were living in Jackson County, Missouri having come from Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. The Latter-day Saint settlements in Jackson were thriving. In 1833

there were about 1,200 Latter-day Saints living in Jackson County.

On 20 Jul 1833, a mob of 500 men from the Jackson County area confronted Church of Jesus Christ leaders. They demanded the Latter-day Saints close their store and printing office, and leave Jackson County. Church leaders would not agree to leave, and the mob destroyed the Church's printing office. They tarred and feathered Bishop Edward Partridge and Church member Charles Allen.

Three days later, another mob threatened further violence. Under severe duress, the Latter-day Saint leaders signed a document promising they would leave Jackson County the following spring, by 1 Apr 1834.

Isaac's granddaughter, Cordelia Morley, wrote late in her life of the attacks in Jackson county. On one occasion she was asleep in bed with her sister when their windows were smashed by passing mobs. She and her sister were covered in shards of glass.

The mobs couldn't wait for the agreed upon April date and

Latter-day Saints Expelled from Jackson County

continued their violence. By November 1833, they drove the Latter-day Saints of Jackson County, including the Morleys, out of their homes and off their lands. Most of the displaced Latter-day Saints fled north, across the Missouri River, into Clay County.

This excerpt from *A Biographical Sketch of Isaac Morley* by his great granddaughter Ada Allen Vernon describes the violence directed against Isaac Morley:

> Things became so unbearable that the leading brethren asked the mobocrats if they would be satisfied and leave the Saints alone if they would give up to them six of the leading brethren to be killed, tortured, or treated any way they might want to treat them. To the proposition the mob agreed, and six men volunteered: Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, John Corrill, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and Sidney Gilbert. The fiendish mob cast these men into prison after cruelly torturing them to their satisfaction and kept them in jail three more days. They then informed them that tomorrow they were to be killed. They were given permission to visit with their families for the last time for one-half hour, each of them being accompanied by two armed guards.
>
> Isaac Morley called his family together that he might pray and eat with them for the last time. He invited the two guards to eat with them. One of them accepted and was friendly with them. This guard was touched and even wept because he felt so sorry for the Saints. But the other guard said in cruel, harsh tones to the family: “It is time to go. Take one more look upon your father for it will be your last one. Tomorrow you shall have no father.” Then they hurried him back to jail.
>
> That evening the six families of these prisoners met at the home of W.W. Phelps where they prayed every half hour during the whole long night "that the Lord would deliver their husbands and fathers from their enemies.”
>
> Next morning the mob met at the jail to perform the execu-

tions; some of them wanted to shoot the prisoners, some said, "Let's tar and feather them and then torture them to death." Some said, "Let's set fire to them and see the tar run." Some mentioned other ways to kill them and so they quarreled with each other, as to how to bring about the most intense suffering they could inflict and give themselves the greatest satisfaction. The prison guards became involved in the jangle and they left their posts of duty and proceeded to join in the fight which followed. In the turmoil the prison doors were left open and the prisoners walked out. They did this because their enemies had not kept their promise to leave the rest of the Saints alone from then on. The mob had gone on treating the Saints even worse as time went on — notwithstanding their promise to leave them alone.

The Morley family were sitting at home in deepest sorrow, listening and expecting to hear the horrible shots that would mean the doom of their beloved Father and his companions, when to their great surprise, he came in and thus were their earnest prayers answered. But fearful of being recaptured, he immediately bade farewell to his family again, and went into hiding. He had only gone about five miles when a voice said to him, "Go back to your family. It is better to do this. If you perish, perish with them." So he went back home. However he hid for several days in his corn patch and then having had time to think things over, he felt satisfied that God had accepted their heart's earnest offering, for they had willingly and sincerely volunteered their lives for the rest of the Saints and they had been ready and prepared to die for their people and fully expected this to happen. But, inasmuch as their enemies had broken their word and relinquished all ill treatment of the prophet and his followers, Great Grandfather felt that they would have offered their lives, but now they felt it was witnessed by the Spirit of the Lord to their souls, that God had accepted their offerings and that their lives no longer were required.

Clay County Violence

The area in Clay County, where the Morleys first settled, was marshy and an unhealthy location. Some of the settlers came down with malaria.

Isaac had to leave his family behind here, in Clay County, to go on another mission. In his absence, a friend rented a farm in a more healthy location, and moved the Morley family there.

By 1834, the Morleys were established in Clay county. The Hulets had moved from Jackson County to Clay County by 1835. **Polly Hulet**, Sylvanus' wife, is recorded having **died** there in March of 1835.

Elisha Whiting Jr. and his family finally followed the rest of the Hulets from Ohio to Clay County, Missouri, in 1835 or 1836. By 1836, all of Hazel Oakes' ancestors, except the Oakes were in Clay County.

Based on a Latter-day Saint redress petition (petition requesting to be reimbursed by Ohio for damages caused by mob violence), Catherine Oaks and her children appear to have avoided Jackson County, and moved from Niven, Springville Township, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, directly to Daviess County, Missouri.

From about June 1834 to 1836, the Latter-day Saints escaped the persecution they had endured in Jackson County by settling in Clay County. The citizens of Liberty, the Clay County seat, offered the Latter-day Saints shelter, work, and provisions. However, they also told the Latter-day Saints they were only permitted to stay until they could return to Jackson county.

Latter-day Saints and Clay County citizens alike considered the Latter-day Saints stay there to be temporary. Joseph Smith had hoped to return to Jackson County in the near future. The existing Clay County settlers, fearing the flood of new Latter-day Saints, grew impatient. On the night of 28 Jun 1836, a Clay County mob

formed determined to drive them out of the county. They harassed and beat the Latter-day Saints that night.

The next day, a convention of the leading citizens requested the Latter-day Saints leave the county to avoid another mob. Grateful for the refuge given by Clay County citizens at a time of crisis, the Church leaders agreed to move.

Caldwell County Violence

On 26 Dec 1836, through the efforts of the renowned attorney, Alexander Doniphan, Ray County, Missouri, was divided creating another two counties named Caldwell and Daviess. The Latter-day Saints were allowed to establish a community in Far West, Caldwell County, about 60 miles north of Clay County. Far West became the new headquarters for the Church of Jesus Christ.

The Latter-day Saints settled in Caldwell County, and also further north into Daviess County. In particular, they moved to Adam-ondi-Ahman in Daviess County because Smith said it was the Biblical place where Adam and Eve were banished after leaving the Garden of Eden.

Isaac Morley and family moved to Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri in April 1836. They built a good home as they thought, again, this would be their last move.

Elisha Whiting Jr. writes about his families' travails, being driven from Jackson to Clay and then Clay to Caldwell counties:

> In the year of our Lord 1837, I, Elisha Whiting, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, moved my family into the State of Missouri, Clay County, for the purpose of making a permanent settlement. I soon purchased an improved farm and moved my family consisting of a wife and 5 children onto the same.
>
> In a few months, 6 out of the 7 were taken sick and part of them

were put into a wagon on a bed and moved to Caldwell Co. (Myself being left, and soon taken sick) and in a few days, a mob threatened to come upon and drive me from my home notwithstanding my sickness. But through the kindness of a neighbor who informed me of the plot, and offered me an asylum under his roof (which I accepted) [I] escaped from their snare.

I had previously purchased 80 acres of government land in the county of Caldwell for which I had paid my money. My family then there, and not hearing what had become of me, sent one of my sons to learn; he found me very low, but put me into his wagon on a bed and carried me to Caldwell where I lay sick for many months.

Two of my sons, together with a son-in-law, had also bought [government land] and paid their money for the same; consisting of 300 and 20 acres. And there we thought surely to settle ourselves in peace, as the authorities of the County of Clay, had promised us protections; but in this were mistaken.

For not many days after our move, a ruthless set of barbarians, living in the State of Missouri, and even claiming to be the free born sons of America, marched their thousands of demons into the County, and there threatened to exterminate or drive us from our lands and home, and we being insufficient to meet so large a band of ruffians, were obliged to submit; and for a trifling sum to sign away our [property].

And this to cap: the climax of [being] driven in the month of March through cold storms of snow and rain, having to make our beds on the cold wet ground which, when we arose in the morning, we often found drenched with water. [We were] then obliged to load our wet bedding into the wagon and move slowly forward.

1836 also sees the Hulet family in Caldwell County as well as the Whiting family. The Whitings established a farm, and it was

productive. Based on Catherine Oaks' redress petition already mentioned, she and her family were in Caldwell County by 1839. Now all of Hazel Oakes' ancestors, the Morleys, Oakes, Whitings, and Hulets are in the same county - Caldwell County.

The headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ moved to Far West in 1837. Isaac Morley was chosen as Patriarch of Far West on 7 Nov 1837.

The Mormon War

For several years, times in Far West were good for the Latter-day Saints. There was a respite from the attacks, but they began again, and attempts to evict the Latter-day Saints resumed.

The Mormon War of 1838 began on 6 Aug 1838. It was triggered by a fight during an election, resulting in attacks between the Latter-day Saints and mobocrats. The mobocrats were aided by the Missouri Volunteer Militia.

The Battle of Crooked River, in late October 1838, led Lilburn Boggs, Governor of Missouri to issue Missouri Executive order 44, ordering the Latter-day Saints to leave Missouri or face being killed.

Extermination Order
Missouri Executive Order 44
Issued 27 Oct 1838

"...The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so to any extent you may consider necessary..."

After Governor Boggs had issued the Mormon Extermination order, a militia of about 500 men, commanded by General John Clark, marched into Far West. They made the Latter-day Saints give up their guns and ammunition.

Haun's Mill Massacre

The Missouri militia attacked Haun's Mill in eastern Caldwell County On 30 Oct 1838. Alerted to their approach, most of the women and children fled into the woods. The men went to the blacksmith shop for cover. The shop was a poor shelter as the logs had large unchinked spaces between them allowing the attackers to stick their rifle barrels between the logs and to shoot. The shop became a deathtrap, and the militia showed no mercy. By the militia's own account, they fired upwards of 1,600 rounds in 30-60 minutes. 17 Latter-day Saints were killed.

After the attack, several Latter-day Saints who had been wounded or surrendered were shot dead. Three children were found under the blacksmith's bellows, they were all shot dead. Later, a member of the militia, William Reynolds, justified killing one of the children by saying "Nits will make lice, and if he had lived he would have become a Mormon."

The following day, 1 Nov 1838, the Latter-day Saints surrendered, agreed to forfeit their property, and leave the state. Joseph Smith was immediately brought before a military court, accused of treason, and sentenced to be executed the next morning. Alexander Doniphan, Smith's former lawyer and a brigadier general in the Missouri militia, refused to carry out the order. Instead, Smith was charged with treason and sent to Liberty, the seat of Clay County, to await trial. Six months later, Smith escaped prison, probably aided by the jail guards.

During the conflict, 56 prominent Latter-day Saint citizens of Far West were taken prisoner, along with Isaac Morley. They were marched east to Richmond, Ray County, to await trial. Three weeks later, 24 Nov 1838, they were tried, but no charges could be found against them, and they were released to return home.

The Missouri militia destroyed the Latter-day Saints' homes, farms, and food. The residents of Far West were suffering from hunger and exposure. The Whiting's home and their chair factory were burned with the others' homes and farms.

The settlers agreed to leave Far West. Beginning in 1839, more than 10,000 Latter-day Saints abandoned their property, and fled. It was winter, and yet they crossed the icy Mississippi river to regroup in Quincy, Illinois. On 6 Feb 1839, Isaac and family left Far West, and 21 days later arrived in Quincy.

The people of Quincy welcomed the Latter-day Saints, and provided warmth, beds, and employment. By the spring of 1839,

Crossing the Mississippi on the Ice

the Latter-day Saints continued on to what they hoped would be their final destination: Nauvoo, Illinois.

Catherine Oaks, and her family went directly to Nauvoo. The Hulets, Whitings, and Morleys all, instead, went about 25 miles south of Nauvoo to Lima Township, Hancock County, Illinois.

The Oakes in Nauvoo

In late 1839, Latter-day Saints arriving from Quincy bought the small town of Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois. Joseph Smith renamed it Nauvoo. The word comes from Isaiah 52:7, "How beautiful upon the mountains...".

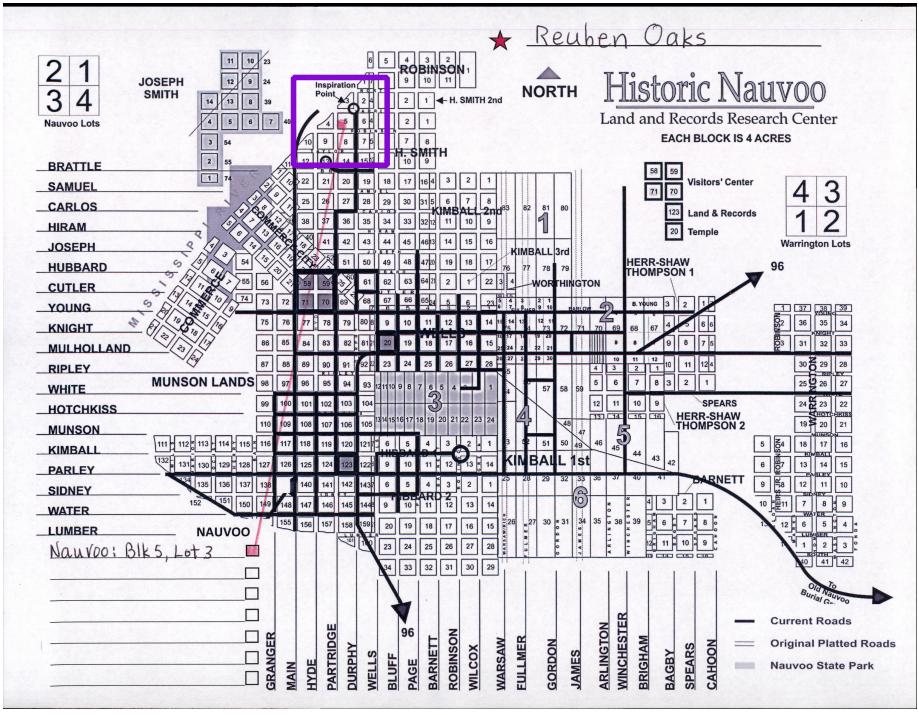
Nauvoo grew extremely fast. By 1844, its population was 12,000. That was nearly the size of Chicago at the time. Nauvoo became the headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Catherine Oaks and her family came to Nauvoo after leaving

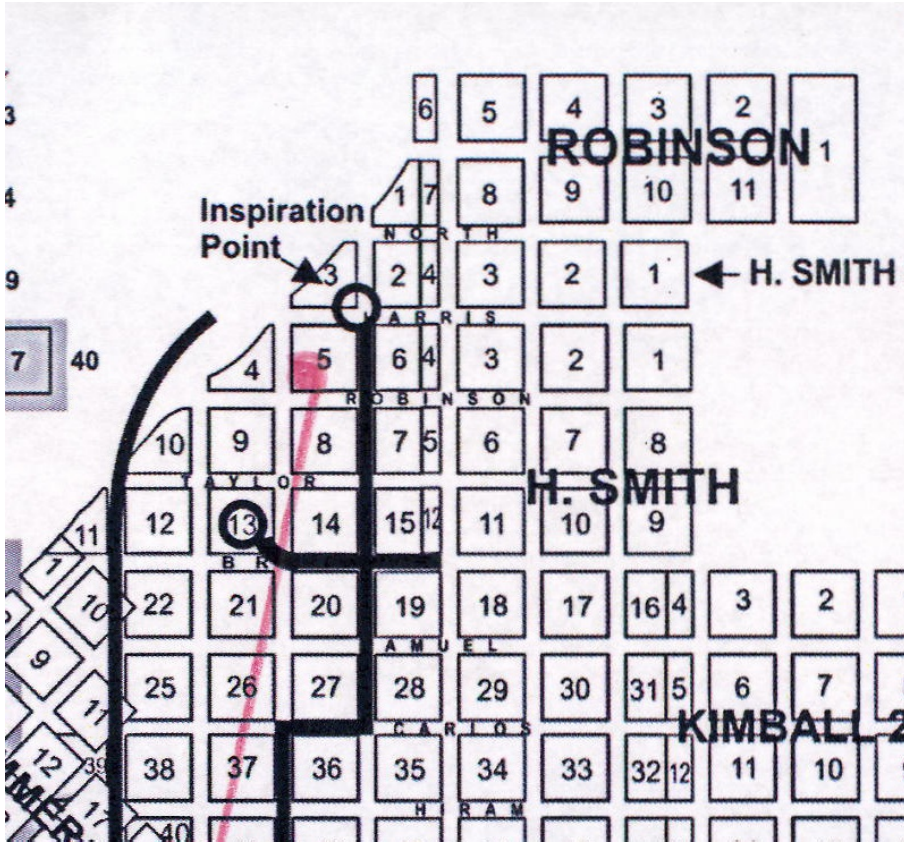
Quincy in 1839. They were some of earliest settlers in Nauvoo. They lived here for the entire Nauvoo period. By this time her son, Reuben Oakes Sr., was 17 years old.

Catherine Oaks purchased a lot in the northwest part of Nauvoo on 27 Feb 1840. It was sold to her by Joseph Smith who was developing land for the Church. She paid $350 at $50/yr plus interest for 7 years. It was located three blocks east of the Mississippi River steamboat landing. In 1842, a petition to dig a water well at Partridge and Carlos streets was granted to Henry and Reuben Oakes. Those streets match the Lot/Block of the *Oakes Property in Nauvoo* map.

Catherine Oaks' family appears several times in the Nauvoo records. Reuben Oakes was married in Nauvoo, and he worked as a teamster.



Oakes' Property in Nauvoo



Oakes' Property Enlarged

On 7 Apr 1844, **Reuben Oakes Sr. married** a young window, **Amy Jones Major**. There is no further record of her. As was not infrequent in those days, they possibly decided the marriage wouldn't work, and they simply parted ways.

While at Nauvoo, Reuben and his brother, Hyrum, appear on the list of members assigned to work in the Wisconsin pineries.

Wisconsin Logging Camp

The Wisconsin Pineries

When Joseph Smith visited the future site of Nauvoo in the spring 1839, there were just a few log cabins and shanties. The rapid growth of Nauvoo required much labor, timber, and stone. Nauvoo was located on the western edge of the treeless prairies. Building materials, especially lumber, were scarce. What little timber that had once existed here was completely gone by 1840. The early settlers of Nauvoo had to scrounge for local lumber or purchase it from back east.

When it was decided to build the Temple of Nauvoo, the need for lumber became even greater. The Latter-day Saints needed large amounts of lumber, and had very little money with which to purchase it. For this reason, the Church decided to establish their own sawmills in the Wisconsin Pineries, and harvest the timber directly. Alpheus Cutler was one of the three appointed to oversee construction of the Nauvoo temple.

Alpheus Cutler had started with the Church of Jesus Christ as a missionary to the American Indians. The Latter-day Saints felt responsible to teach their doctrines to the Indians since the *Book*

of Mormon contained their history. Cutler was a stone mason, and assisted building the temple in Kirtland.

Cutler was directed to supervise the cutting of the timber for the new temple in Nauvoo. He led a group of Latter-day Saints to the Wisconsin Pineries along the Black River to cut timber and float it back down the Mississippi to Nauvoo. From fall 1841 until the spring of 1845, many Latter-day Saints worked in the pineries.

It is known the Oakes boys worked in the pineries, and it is believed the Whitings did as well. As carpenters, they probably took note of the rich forests in that region. They most likely first met Alpheus Cutler there, who would play an important role in their futures.

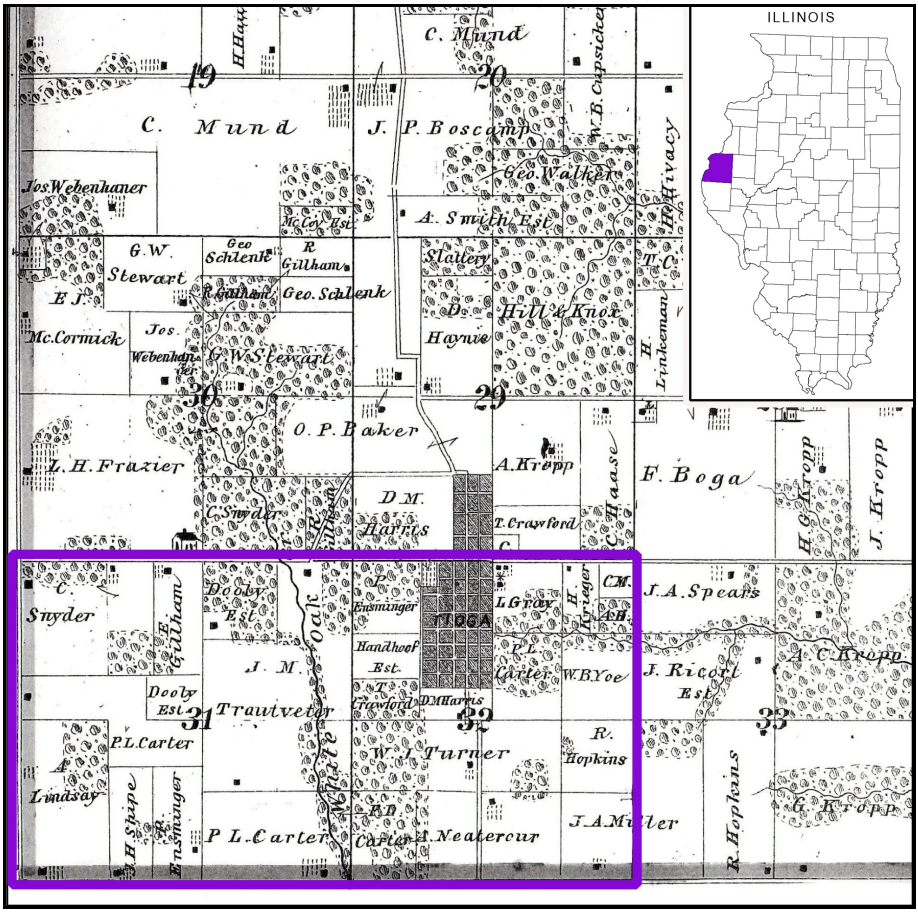
Morley's Settlement

Unlike the Oakes and many other Latter-day Saints, the Morleys, Whitings, and Hulets did not settle in Nauvoo, Illinois, but 25 miles south in Walker Township, Hancock County, Illinois.

When arriving from Quincy, Illinois, they first lived in tents in the back woods until log cabins could be built. Isaac purchased the shell of a log cabin that had been used for a past claim. He put on a roof, added a chimney, and his family moved in without it yet having a door, windows, or floor. The next spring an addition was built.

Isaac Morley's Cabin

Elisha's grand-daughter, Cordelia Whiting (not to be confused with Cordelia Morley), said of the move:



Walker Township, Illinois, 1874 Morley's Settlement

> Father pitched his tent in the back woods. This was our home and all the one we had. It was cold weather; the snow was falling fast. There was but little to eat and scant clothes to wear. The body of a log house had been put on the ground for a claim. This father bought. He covered the house and the family moved into it without a door, window, or floor. Father fixed the house as best he could. The next summer he built an addition, cleared the land and we were settled again.

To start there were 16 settlers, but within a few years the area was

a thriving settlement called Morley's Settlement with 300-400 Latter-day Saints living there. It was also known as Yelrome (Morley spelled backwards) or Morley's Town.

Morley's Settlement existed from 1839 until 1845. It was a farming settlement that spread out for a mile near the south end of present day Tioga, Illinois. It consisted of four stores, the Whiting's chair making shop, and Isaac's cooper shop. The cooper shop was also used as a place of recreation for the young people. Isaac built a small school house where his daughter Cordelia Morley taught school.

In 1841, the Whiting's chair shop was a busy place and they enjoyed peace. Elisha Whiting's son, **Chancey Whiting**, and Isaac Morley's daughter, **Editha Morley** were **married** on 18 Jun 1841. Having likely known each other for some time, the families were now related by marriage. These were the great-great grandparents of Hazel Oakes.

By 1844, Morley's Settlement was being described as a prosperous place of fertile farms. Years later, a county resident described the town as having 40 to 50 cabins all on one street about four rods (65 feet) wide, and no fencing, with a few outbuildings behind the cabins.

Carmelia Whiting, daughter of Chancey and Editha Whiting was **born** on 29 Sep 1844 in Lima, Adams County, Illinois. She was Hazel Oakes' grandmother.

Plural Marriages

Polygamy came to Morley's Settlement in 1842. Some scholars believe that Joseph Smith transcribed a revelation recommending plural marriage (polygamy) on 17 Jul 1831. Joseph Smith had been practicing polygamy since 1833 when he married his second wife.

By 1842, the Church of Jesus Christ in Lima had about 400 members. On September 11 that year, Brigham Young, who would

later become president of the Church of Jesus Christ, came to Morley's Settlement for a conference.

Cordelia Morley

Morley's daughter Cordelia wrote of it:

> "Twas here we were taught the principles of plural marriage, as we were the other ordinances of the Gospel."

The Church leadership understood plural marriage was a new practice that would require strict control and regulation. The potential for abuse and experimentation was large, and the risk of negative reactions, inside the Church, was great. Precise laws regulated who was allowed to enter into plural marriage. A critical issue was who was eligible, and Brigham Young handled this by being the only person to grant permission. In keeping with Church policy to care for the poor, men approved were guided to marry widowed or destitute women.

When plural marriages were allowed by revelation, Joseph Smith was commanded to live that life. Being a close friend of the Morley family, Joseph proposed to Isaac Morley's daughter, Cordelia, when she was about 20 years of age and Joseph was 38. Isaac Morley gave consent to the marriage.

In Cordelia's words:

> In the spring of 1844, plural marriage was introduced to me by my parents from Joseph Smith, asking their consent and a request to me to be his wife. Imagine, if you can, my feeling, to be a plural wife. Something I never thought I could ever be. I

> knew nothing of such religion and could not accept it, neither did I then. I told Joseph I had a sweetheart; his name was Whiting, and I expected to marry him. He, however, was left by the wayside. He could not endure the persecutions and hardships [most of the Whitings left the Church]. I told the Prophet I thought him a wonderful man and leader, but I wanted to marry my sweetheart.
>
> After Joseph Smith's death, I was visited by some of his most intimate friends who knew of his request and explained to me this religion, counseling me to accept his wishes, for he now was gone and could do no more for himself. I accepted Joseph Smith's desire, and 27 January 1846, I was married to your father [Walter Cox] in the Nauvoo Temple. While still kneeling at the alter, my hand clasped in his and ready to become his third plural wife, Heber C. Kimball tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Cordelia, are you going to deprive the Prophet of his desire that you be his wife?" At that, Walter Cox said, "You may be sealed to the Prophet for eternity and I'll marry you for time." Walter was proxy for Joseph Smith, and I was sealed to him for eternity and to Walter for time.

One time when Cordelia told this story to her granddaughter, Mary Verona Cox, she said, "Verona, in eternity I want the man that was the father of my children and was a good husband and father. I lived with him and loved him."

Had Cordelia married Joseph Smith Jr., she would have been his 48th wife. Instead she became Walter Cox's 3rd of an eventual five wives.

In 1844, Lucy Morley saw her husband, Isaac, take two plural wives. Elisha Whiting Jr. never entered into a plural marriage.

Burning of Morley's Settlement and Death of Joseph Smith

The Latter-day Saints of Morley's Settlement had five years of peace, but violence still followed. Morley's Settlement was

surrounded by communities of mobocrat activists willing to make trouble.

Several of these mobocrats visited Isaac Morley at his home on 15 Jun 1844, and gave him until the following Monday to either take up arms, and ride with them to Nauvoo to arrest Smith; move the families of Morley's Settlement to Nauvoo; or surrender their arms, and remain neutral during upcoming attack on Nauvoo.

After consulting with Latter-day Saint leaders in Nauvoo, these demands were rejected. For the next two weeks, residents of Morley's Settlement received many threats from what was know as the "mob committee".

On June 25, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were jailed in Carthage, Illinois. They were to be tried for inciting a riot in Nauvoo. Once in custody, their charges were increased to treason, preventing them from posting bail.

Two days later, June 27, an armed mob stormed the Carthage jail. Hyrum was killed instantly with a shot to the face while trying to secure the door. Joseph Smith fired three shots from a pistol, wounding 3 men, before attempting to escape through a window. He was shot and fell out of the window. He died shortly after hitting the ground, but was shot several more times by the mob.

After the Smith brothers were murdered, and after it became evident the Latter-day Saint's Nauvoo Legion militia was not going to retaliate, there was relative peace for the next six months until January.

In January of 1845, Latter-day Saints were accused of horse theft, and at least five were arrested for larceny. The Hancock County sheriff, Jacob Backenstos, was a Latter-day Saint sympathizer. He had been voted into office largely with the help of Latter-day Saint voters. The mobocrats were sure he would not prosecute the accused Latter-day Saints. Rumors continued to spread that Latter-day Saints were stealing from their neighbors.

The historian William Hartley wrote:

> "If Illinois ever had an arson month in its history, September 1845 was it. During that month, almost every Saint living in Morley's Settlement was forced from home while mobocrats burned their houses and outbuildings."

The spark that started the violence was someone shooting into a schoolhouse in Green Plains during an mobocrat meeting on 8 Sep 1845. It was never established if the shooter was Latter-day Saint or otherwise. That same day, the mobocrats organized a mob that went around telling the Latter-day Saints to leave with their family the next day or suffer the consequences. On September 9, the "mob committee" went back to the same houses, and set them on fire. More houses were burned over the next two days.

At the home of Elisha and Sally Whiting, one of their sons was near death with fever. The mobs showed mercy, and did not burn the Whiting's house or chair shop that day. After other homes were burned, the sick were moved to the Whiting chair shop.

September 12, Solomon Hancock, now in charge of the Lima Church, sent two men to the "mob committee". They proposed to sell all of their deeded properties for animals, wagons, grain, or any movable valuables. The reply to that proposal is unknown, but the mob burned more buildings that evening.

That same day, while Morley Settlement was under attack, Brigham Young issued the following notice:

> To the Brethren in and about Nauvoo, Greeting:
>
> The Council of the Church requests every man who has a team to go immediately to the Morley Settlement, and act in concert with President Solomon Hancock in removing the sick, the women and the children, food, and grain to Nauvoo.

September 13, Isaac Morley was back in the settlement preparing

to move his family. A mob appeared, and ordered him out of his house. They torched his house, his cooper shop, and his granary. Other homes, the Elisha's chair shop, and a blacksmith shop were burned that day.

Sheriff Bankenstos wrote:

> "While I am writing this proclamation, the smoke is rising to the clouds, and the flames are devouring four buildings, which have just been fired by the rioters. ... An entire settlement of about sixty or seventy families is laid waste and the inhabitants thereof are fired upon, narrowly escaping with their lives and forced to flee before the ravages of the mob."

The sheriff called for a posse to attempt to restore order, but the call was answered by only Latter-day Saints which further inflamed the conflict.

On September 14, Latter-day Saint leaders in Nauvoo answered Brigham Young's request, and sent 134 teams to help remove people and goods. The burnings at Morley's Settlement continued for a week. Roughly 125 buildings were burned in Morley's Settlement and the town Lima. September 16, the river boat Die Vernon was at the docks in Warsaw, two miles away, and its officers reported "the smoke of the burning buildings was distinctly visible from Warsaw, some miles distant".

In the fall of 1845, The Morleys, Whitings, and Hulets were all driven from Morley's Settlement to Nauvoo.

Morley's Settlement Historical Marker and Inscription

Morley's Settlement Historical Marker

This was the site of Morley's Settlement, 1839-1846. The log homes and cabins, fenced farms and corrals of 400-500 Mormons (members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) spread out for more than a mile northeast, north, and west of here. The people had come as religious refugees, forced from Missouri.

The settlement was named after founder and president Isaac Morley (and was sometimes called "Yelrome" – Morley spelled backward). LDS prophet Joseph Smith often preached here. LDS poet Eliza R. Snow lived here in 1843-44. Morley's barrel shop sold barrels in Quincy. Frederick Cox operated a chair-making shop. The settlement had four stores. Cordelia Morley taught school here. "Morley Town," the settlement's heart, had north-south and east-west streets running for three blocks east and three blocks north of this marker.

Not quite three miles southwest of here, other Mormons settled in an existing town, Lima (Adams County). Mormons in both settlements together formed the Lima Branch (or Stake) of the LDS Church. Branch records for 1842 list families (living in both settlements) named **Morley**, Hancock, Durfee, Miner, Curtis, Carter, Cox, **Whiting**, King, Call, Brown, Winn, Garner, Gardner, Tidwell, Thornton, Casper, Benner, Clawson, Vorheese, Snow, Dudley, Scott, Blair, Wimmer, Critchlow, Hickenlooper, Rose, and many others.

In September 1845, when Mormons and non-Mormons clashed in Hancock County, the latter torched scores (some reports say 125) of Morley's Settlement houses and outbuildings. Suddenly homeless, the residents fled to Nauvoo for safety. Morley's Settlement, mostly reduced to ashes, disappeared.

Of the John and Hannah Carter family, son Philip stayed behind on his land southwest of here. Philip's posterity lived there for several generations.

The present town of Tioga was founded here in 1855, and soon afterwards many German immigrant families settled in the area.

Edmund Durfee

Morley's Settlement resident Edmund Durfee (Durphy) was born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, in 1788. A farmer, carpenter, and millwright, he married Magdalena Pickle. They became the parents of thirteen children. The Durfees joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the 1830s in Ohio. They moved to LDS settlements in Missouri and then here to Morley's Settlement, living about one-half mile northeast of this marker.

In September 1845, anti-Mormon arsonists targeted Morley's Settlement. The Durfee home was the first of dozens burned down. The Durfees, with other homeless residents, fled to Nauvoo for safety.

Edmund and other men returned here to harvest their crops on 15 Nov 1845. They lodged with Mormon Solomon Hancock in his unburned home about one-half mile northeast of here. Late that evening, night riders set fire to hay in the Hancock barnyard. Awakened, Mormon men rushed outside to fight the fire. Edmund Durfee, age 57, was shot and killed. Durfee's attackers were identified and arrested, but never brought to trial, even though "their guilt was sufficiently apparent," according to Illinois Governor Thomas Ford.

Edmund was buried near his brother, James Durfee, in Nauvoo's Parley Street Cemetery. Edmund's family participated in the Latter-day Saints' forced exodus from Nauvoo in 1846. During the hard journey across Iowa, widow Magdalena died near present-day Council Bluffs, and daughter Tamma Durfee Miner buried a baby, Melissa at Montrose and husband Albert Miner in Iowaville.

Eight Durfee children went west with the Latter-day Saints and settled in Utah.

Nauvoo Departure

At the beginning of 1846, Hazel Oakes' ancestors were all in Nauvoo. Catherine Oaks and her family, including her son, Reuben Oakes Sr.; The Whitings and Morleys, including their now married children Chancey Whiting and Editha Morley Whiting. These are three of the great grandparents of Hazel Oakes.

After Joseph Smith's death, Brigham Young was elected president of the Church of Jesus Christ. Young had a revelation to organize the Latter-day Saints and head West, beyond the border of the United States, and into what was then Mexico. They would move far enough away that persecution and religious prejudice would not follow. In February 1846, many of the Latter-day Saints began their migration west from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Great Salt Lake Valley.

The trip across Iowa tested the Latter-day Saints to their limit.

Nauvoo as it appeared at the time of the Latter-day Saint exodus

Poverty, starvation, disease, and death each took its toll. When they left Nauvoo, the cold was intense, and it was snowing. The trip across southern Iowa that cold wet spring would prove to be a more difficult journey than the longer trip across the mountains to Utah would be.

They crossed the Mississippi River on flat boats. Since there were no roads to follow, they attempted to travel using trappers' trails. Wagons sank in the mud, food was scarce, and people got sick and died. Progress was measured in a few miles a day. Small camps were established every few miles. A more permanent settlement was made in south central Iowa call Mt. Pisgah.

The Morleys, Oakes, and Whitings were within the first groups of Latter-day Saints to leave Nauvoo. The Whitings were in the 4th company to depart for Iowa.

The Whitings headed west on 18 May 1846. Elisha Whiting was called to help establish and remain at the Mt. Pisgah way station. Mt. Pisgah was a permanent camp and resting place on the middle

Leaving Missouri

fork of the Grand River about 30 miles south of Des Moines, Iowa. They would build simple cabins, fence pastures for animals, and grow crops to supply food for those that followed. Elisha again built a chair shop, which was also used for dances and socials.

From *The Story of the Mormon Pioneers* by Skousen:

> Elisha Whiting was among those who were forced to leave Nauvoo with practically nothing. He fled with his wife and baby across the Mississippi River. Before shelter could be found, the baby died from the cold and shortly after, his wife died. The exposure, poor food, and physical exhaustion were too much. Elisha Whiting carried the remains of his wife and baby to rest in a grave in a place called Mt. Pisgah, Iowa (now known as Talmadge, Iowa) and there laid them to rest in a grave which may still be seen.

A serious epidemic, possibly cholera, broke out in July 1846, and swept the camp at Mt. Pisgah. By Aug 1846, Elisha Whiting's wife, **Sally Whiting,** had **died** from the disease. She was buried, with the many others that had died of the same disease, in the Cemetery of Unmarked Graves.

Reuben Oakes Sr. returned to Nauvoo on 18 Mar 1846. There he **married Eliza Murdock** on April 11. In October, his mother, **Catherine Oaks, died** only 50 miles into her journey to Mt.

Cholera Out Break

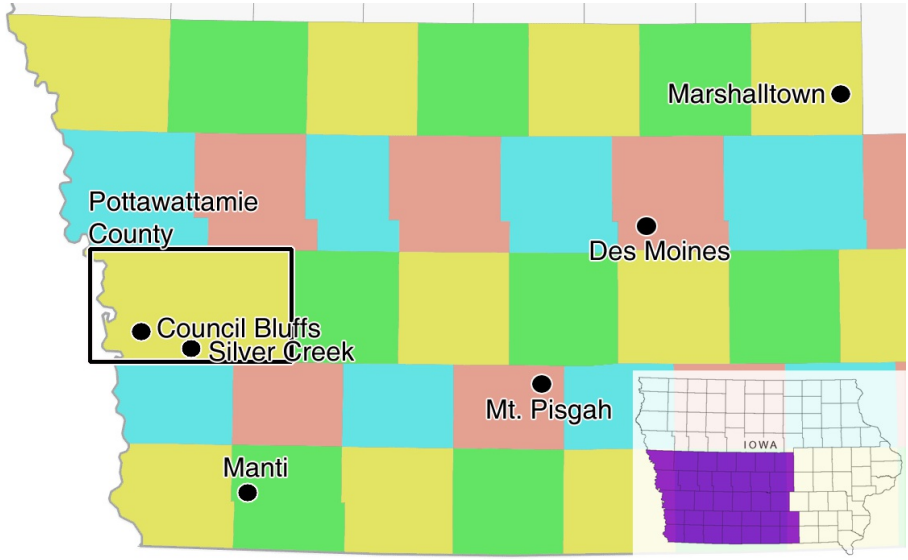
Cholera, believed spread from Irish immigrant ship(s) from England to the United States, spread throughout the Mississippi river system, killing over 4,500 in St. Louis and over 3,000 in New Orleans. Thousands died in New York, a major destination for Irish immigrants. The outbreak that struck Nashville in 1849–1850 took the life of former U.S. President James K. Polk. During the California Gold Rush, cholera was transmitted along the California, Mormon and Oregon Trails as 6,000 to 12,000 are believed to have died on their way to Utah and Oregon in the cholera years of 1849–1855. It is believed cholera claimed more than 150,000 victims in the United States during the two pandemics between 1832 and 1849, and also claimed 200,000 victims in Mexico.

Pisgah. She died at Fox River, Van Buren County, Iowa.

Elisha and Sallie Whiting's sons - Edwin, Chauncy, Sylvester, and Francis Lewis - stayed through that winter in Mt. Pisgah, making chairs and taking them in loads, pulled by a team of oxen, into Missouri to sell. By 1847, Chauncy, Sylvester, and Francis had enough of the persecution and suffering. Rather than following Brigham Young and the rest of the Latter-day Saints, they joined Alpheus Cutler and went west to with him to Big Grove at Silver Creek, Mills County, Iowa which eventually became the Silver Creek Township.

Elisha Whiting must have been disappointed. While Edwin and Emiline followed the Latter-day Saints on to the Great Salt Lake Valley, the rest of his children: Sylvester, Chauncy, Francis, Almon, and Louisa did not. They joined Cutler, and later left the Church of Jesus Christ.

Hyrum James Oakes was **born** on 20 Jul 1847 in Marshalltown, Marshall County, Iowa. He would later marry Carmelia Whiting and have Harriet Rosina Oakes. He was a grandfather of



Southwest Iowa Points of Interest

Hazel Oakes'.

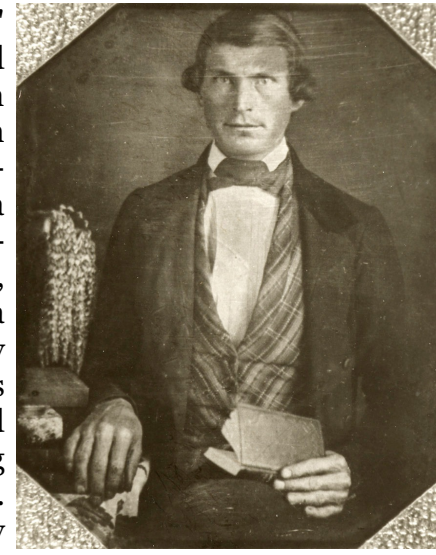
Elisha Whiting Jr. died at Mt. Pisgah, about 18 months after his wife, Sally, in March 1848. Elisha and Sally Whiting had endured persecution and hardship, yet they had remained firm in their faith. Sally and Elisha Whiting were highly respected, honest, generous, and always firm in their convictions.

Hyrum's brother, **Reuben Oakes Jr.** was **born** on 18 Mar 1849 in Pottawattamie County, Iowa. He would later marry Louise Anne Bell Keeler and have Chester Clarence Oakes. He is Hazel Oakes' other grandfather.

By the time of the 1850 census, the Oakes family were living 100 miles west of Mt. Pisgah in Pottawattamie County, Iowa. They were probably in Council Bluffs, along with many other Latter-day Saints. Listed in the household are Reuben, his wife Eliza, and sons Hyrum and Reuben Jr.

The Cutlerite Schism

While unrelated to Hazel Oakes' ancestors, Alpheus Cutler played a pivotal role in their lives, much as Joseph Smith had a generation prior. Like Hazel's ancestors, Cutler's family had come to America in the 1640s, settling in the Massachusetts Bay area. Born in 1784, he was a contemporary of Elisha Whiting Jr. and Isaac Morley though it was their children's lives he influenced. Cutler had worked in the Wisconsin Pineries along the younger Whitings and Oakes. This was most likely where they became acquainted.



Alpheus Cutler

Cutler was deeply loyal to Joseph Smith. He was the captain of Joseph Smith's body guard probably working along side Hyrum Oakes. When Joseph Smith was murdered, it is believed Cutler brought his body back to Nauvoo, and buried it secretly in the Nauvoo House so it wouldn't be disturbed.

After Joseph Smith died, the Church was in disarray because there was no succession plan. Eventually, Brigham Young was elected president of the Church. Many institutions of the Church changed at this time. This lack of organization resulted in discontent and alienation that led to many leaving the Church.

The doctrine of plural marriage caused dissent and confusion among the Latter-day Saints. Many of them felt caught in a doctrine they could not tolerate. Cutler was one of those. He found it difficult to believe that the principle of plural marriage was a principle revealed by God.

Cutler had entered into polygamy because, as a both a high ranking leader and a member of Smith's inner circle, he was required to follow Smith's mandates. With Joseph Smith dead, Cutler's leadership of the Cutlerites did not require his participation in plural marriages.

There was also a growing sentiment polygamy had been a mistake, and its practice was raising concern. Under pressure from the government, and possibly with a sense of relief, Cutler repudiated his plural wives. Little is known of those five women, though one is believed to have followed the Cutlerites to Minnesota.

When Brigham Young decided the Latter-day Saints needed to leave Nauvoo, he appointed Cutler as captain of Emigrating Company Number 3. Cutler established Cutler's Park in Nebraska in 1846. He was then asked to find another settlement. He selected the site on 11 Sep 1846 that would become Winter Quarters in Nebraska.

Cutler didn't understand why Brigham Young was taking the

Church to the Salt Lake Valley when God's revelation had said Zion would be at Independence, Missouri. He also found it difficult to continue to follow the emerging church leadership, and he found Young as the President intolerable. Cutler found it impossible to envision the Church of Jesus Christ without Joseph Smith as its leader.

Cutler felt that before his death, Smith had personally given him a mission to take the gospel to the Indians, but this mission was interrupted by the Nauvoo exodus. In the fall of 1847, Young had approved Cutler's request to return to missionary work among the Indians. He started working with nearby tribes.

Cutler moved to a Latter-day Saint encampment called the Big Grove on Silver Creek in Mills County, Iowa where he organized his mission to the Indians. His followers from the Whiting family were here with him. Cutler was named the president of the church community and Chancey Whiting was one of his counselors.

At Silver Lake, Cutler and his followers met an Indian, Lewis Denna. Denna played an important role in their group and remained with them the rest of his life.

Denna had been with the Latter-day Saints since 1840. Then, Denna was with a band of Oneida Indians that happened to spend the night on the bank of the Mississippi river just south of Nauvoo. They ran into a Latter-day Saint who invited them to his house. A friendship developed with Denna staying in Nauvoo and converting to the Latter Day Saint faith. Denna was the first Indian to have become a priest in the Church.

As he worked with the Indians, Cutler started to drift from the Church of Jesus Christ. During his mission at Silver Lake, there were allegations that Cutler had become disloyal to the Church. Young decided it would be best to bring Cutler back home from his mission. Young wrote Cutler and offered him aid to move west with them to Salt Lake Valley. Cutler refused the offer.

Some of the church leaders believed Cutler had become an enemy to Young's Church. He was excommunicated 20 Apr 1851. Even then, Young tried to bring Cutler back into the Church in Utah, but Cutler would hear nothing of it.

Creation of the Cutlerite Church

After being excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ, Cutler set out to create his own church. In 1851, having been forced to abandon his Indian mission by Indian agents and the government, he and his followers moved to Manti, Iowa. 19 Sep 1853, Cutler organized the Cutlerite Church. Cutler claimed the existing Church of Jesus Christ had been rejected by God, and only he had the power to reorganize it. According to Cutler, his Church was the only legitimate successor of Joseph Smith's Church.

Cutler established this Church with a small group of families accepting him as their leader. He was designated the Chief Councilor - the head of the Church. Cutler taught that Joseph Smith had designated him as the head of his restored Church. The Cutlerite Church rejected tithing, celestial marriage (a marriage binding for a future life), plural marriages, and all changes to Church Doctrine and Covenants after Joseph Smith's death. The Cutlerites emphatically renounced plural marriage, and Cutler repudiated all but his first wife.

The Cutlerites' Church was small. It supported no missionary system which may be why it never flourished.

Reuben Oakes Sr. and his family were among the first members of Cutler's Church. Chancey Whiting was made Clerk of the Church. Four of Elisha Whiting's sons (Chancey, Almon, Francis, and Sylvester) chose to follow Cutler.

During their time in Manti, Iowa, the Cutlerite Church reached its maximum membership of about 180. Cutler was convinced he was to lead a Latter-day Saint return to Independence, Missouri, and build the great temple that had failed to be built there the first

time. Cutler's followers were so convinced they would return to Independence, they made no improvements to their homes or farms, expecting to leave at a moment's notice to Independence.

Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith III, also created a faction in the Church of Jesus Christ called the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) also known as the Josephites. The RLDS Church invited Cutler and his followers to join repeatedly, but Cutler ridiculed RLDS. Still, many Cutlerites chose to accept Joseph III, and converted to the RLDS Church. This included Cutler's own son, Thaddeus Cutler.

While Cutler desired to move his people to Independence, Missouri, he recognized that plan may be too risky given the past violence there. His alternative would be a location far to the north. Cutler had some experience of the region from his days of the Wisconsin pineries, and it was sparsely settled so it seemed an ideal choice. Cutler had often spoken to his people of a place he had seen in a vision where there was grassland and beautiful lakes. Before his death, Cutler told his followers that they would find the location of the Church in a grassy area between two lakes in the new state of Minnesota. That would be their new Eden.

Several factors drew the Cutlerites to Minnesota. They were carpenters and masons, and Iowa had no forests nor stone quarries. The Civil War was raging, and church leaders wanted to move their members far enough away to avoid being involved in the war. They could once again establish their association with the Indians there, in Minnesota, to teach the *Book of Mormon*.

It was expected Cutler would be the Cutlerites' leader if the time came for such a journey. In this, they were disappointed, though, for on 10 Jun 1864, **Cutler died** of natural causes.

Two months later, 10 Aug 1864, the remaining members of his Church decided they would relocate to Clitherall, Minnesota. Hazel Oakes grand parents, Chancey and Editha Whiting, and Reuben and Eliza Oakes made the journey to Clitherall.

Chancey was one of Cutler's staunchest supporters. A letter from Chancey, dated 22 Apr 1849 to his remaining siblings at Mt. Pisgah said:

> As I have [had] little opportunity to get a line to you I will improve it. I shall not write but very little for Lewis [Whiting] is calculating to start for Pisgah in a few days and he will tell you the trait of the matter. I suppose that you are making arrangements to go to the valley this spring. But we intend to put a clog in the road so large you cannot climb over it and try to draw your mind to the true point of the compass. I expect you have heard awful stories about Father Cutler but all the bad stories you hear about him you may set it down as false for a better man never nor never will be in this church. At all events he is but might little if any behind Joseph, and if you were here you would believe just as we do.

Isaac Morley's Journey to The Great Salt Lake Valley

Though most of the Whiting and Oakes families did not make the

Winter Quarters

trip to The Great Salt Lake Valley, Isaac Morley and some of his children did as did Elisha Whitings' children Edwin and Emiline. Of the Oakes, only Hyrum Oakes made the journey.

The Morleys started out for The Great Salt Lake Valley after the purge of Nauvoo, reaching the Missouri River in June 1846. They made preparations to stay for the winter across the Missouri River in Nebraska.

They traveled to Winters Quarters in 1847 to stay for the winter of 1847/48. **Lucy Morley died** of typhoid in Camp of Israel, Winter Quarters, Douglas County, Nebraska, near present day Omaha.

In 1848, Isaac and his remaining family crossed the plains to reach the Salt Lake Valley. Companies of about 100 people would travel west together to Salt Lake Valley. Isaac was the captain of one of the first of these companies.

One of the settlers kept a journal including way points of the trip: 5 Jun 1848, made it to Platte River.

Entering The Great Salt Lake Valley

1 Jul 1848, the group stopped where the North and South Platte Rivers join.
12 Jul 1848, Chimney Rock reached.
2 Aug 1848, made it to Independence Rock.
24 Sep 1848, the company arrived in The Great Salt Lake Valley.

Isaac Morley had barely reached the Great Salt Lake Valley when Brigham Young asked him to scout south for another location in the Sanpete Valley. Young wanted to create a settlement of 50-60 families to the south. Morley and his group felt part of the purpose of this settlement would be to bring the gospel to the local Indians.

Morley took a local Indian, Chief Walker, with his advance party to act as a guide. The scouting party reached what would become Manti in Sanpete Valley on 20 Aug 1849. The rest of the company, another 220 people, arrived in the Sanpete Valley in the late fall, 22 Nov 1849.

Upon reaching the Sanpete Valley, the company established a base camp for the winter. They dug temporary shelters into the south side of a hill. The LDS Temple in Manti now stands on that same hill, and Isaac Morley is considered the founder of Manti, Utah.

That first winter was very severe, and the Latter-day Saints were

tested. They lived in tents, dugouts, and wagon boxes through that brutal winter. To feed their livestock, the settlers had to shovel through the snow down to the grass. Then when the snow melted, they then had to contend with rattlesnakes getting in everything.

Brigham Young first visited Sanpete Valley in July of 1850. He spent several weeks with the colonists of the Sanpete Valley. Young named their settlement Manti for a notable city in the *Book of Mormon*. The county was named Sanpete after the Indian tribe living there. Shortly after Young's visit, a grist mill was erected in Manti, and operated by Isaac.

To begin, relations between the Latter-day Saints and the local Ute Indians were cooperative. Morley and his settlers felt that part of their purpose was to bring the gospel to the Indians. Morley wrote, "Did we come here to enrich ourselves in the things of this world? No. We were sent to enrich the natives and comfort the hearts of the long oppressed."

During the severe winter, a measles epidemic broke out. The Latter-day Saints used their limited medicine to help the Indians, and likewise when Latter-day Saint supplies ran low, the Ute shared their food. In 1850, Chief Walker agreed to be baptized into the LDS Church with his son.

Lucy Cordelia, granddaughter of Isaac, tells this story of an incident between the Latter-day Saints and the Sanpete Indians:

> Two Mormon men sought shelter in an old cabin they came across. In the cabin they found it occupied by two Indian boys. They whipped the boys to drive them out and then took the cabin for themselves. One of those boys was the son of Chief Sanpitch. This greatly angered the chief.
>
> The Chief went to see the Mormon leaders. He explained to Isaac what had happened, and demanded to see the two men. There were few Mormon men in the town because most of them happened to be in the mountains at the time. Isaac explained he could not produce the two men because they were gone with the others. Instead, Chief Sanpitch demanded 30 ponies, 30 blankets, and 30 bags of flour.
>
> Isaac asked if they could have three days to send word to Salt Lake Valley, and receive the requested payment. Chief Sanpitch agreed to the request, but he also wanted a guarantee. He asked Isaac to give him Isaac's 18 month old son (Simeon Morley) to take into the mountains with him until sundown. With some hesitation, Isaac handed his baby son to the Indians. The baby's mother, Hannah Morley, fainted. The Chief left with the baby.
>
> The rest of the day the Mormon community prayed for the safe return of Simeon. True to his word, at sundown Chief Sanpitch returned carrying Simeon. He said "Your squaw feel bad, we bring him back to her." The Chief's wife added "He laid in my arms and slept tight". Simeon was dressed in Indian clothes and bathed in a type of tea to make his skin brown.

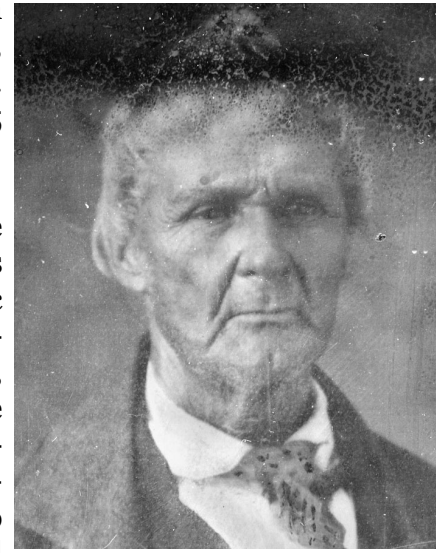
Sadly, Simeon didn't live to tell his tale. He died only a little later at age 3 years and 9 months.

Isaac was president of the Manti, Sanpete County, Utah, colony for four years. He supervised the building of the first school house.

The Sanpete valley grew, prospered, and became known as a prime agricultural area.

Brigham Young called Isaac back to Salt Lake Valley as he felt the responsibilities had become too much for Isaac. He gave Isaac a house in the Salt Lake Valley where Isaac then resided. Isaac continued to travel for several more years as an ordained patriarch. He served as a senator in the general assembly of the provisional State of Deseret.

Isaac Morley died on 24 Jun 1864 in Fairview, Sanpete County, Utah, and was buried in Manti. His obituary in the 5 Jul 1865 copy of *The Deseret News* said:

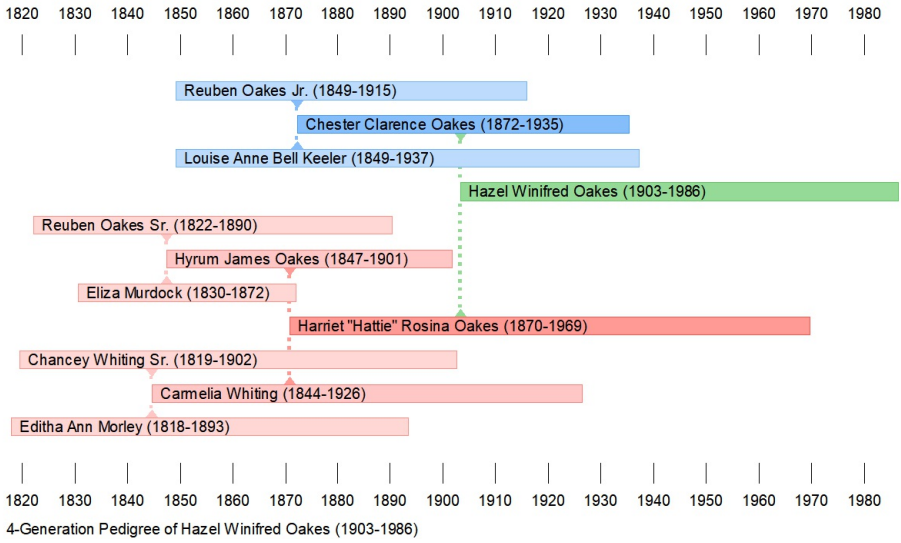


Isaac Morley

> He was of a kind and gentle disposition, unassuming in his manner, and his public preaching and that of his fellow laborer Bishop Partridge, was spoken of by Joseph, the Prophet, in the following characteristic terms: "Their discourses were well adapted to the times in which we live and the circumstances under which we are placed. Their words were words of wisdom, like apples of gold in pictures of silver, spoken in the simple accents of a child, yet sublime as the voice of an angel."

The Third and Fourth Generations

Now we return to Hazel Oakes' grand parents: Chancey and Editha Whiting, Reuben and Eliza Oakes, and their families. The following time line summarizes Hazel's ancestors that lived in Clitherall during this period:



4-Generation Pedigree of Hazel Winifred Oakes (1903-1986)

The Whitings and Oakes of Clitherall

The Founding of Clitherall

After Cutler's death on 10 Aug 1864, the Cutlerites decided to move to Minnesota as Cutler had suggested. He had told them they would find the location of the Church in a grassy area between two lakes in the new state of Minnesota. That would be their new Eden.

Despite failing to convert any Indians in Silver Lake, Iowa, the Cutlerites still believed one of their primary duties was to convert them. As Chancey Whiting later wrote to an Indian friend:

> The main reason for our people going north into Minnesota was to share with your people what we consider the most

> precious thing in our lives, our religion. Our people felt that the time had come to take the Gospel to the House of Israel, of which the Indians are a part. Also, our people wanted to worship their religion unmolested, and be further removed from the war and bloodshed going on in Missouri.

It would soon be winter, and making a large scale move to Minnesota, with its severe winters, was questionable. They decided to send a few of the young men with their families to scout a good location for the rest of the settlers.

One of their members, Lewis Denna, the Oneida Indian, had experience as a guide for explorers. It was decided he would lead the trip because of all the Cutlerites, only Denna had a plan for proceeding. They would go into northeast Minnesota in search of the Reverend John Johnson Enmegahbowh, an Odawa Indian who had been ordained a Deacon in the Episcopal Church.

The party departed 29 Sep 1864, consisting of four families. Among those selected to go were Sylvester and Lewis Whiting, the younger brothers of Chancey Whiting. Lewis Denna led them toward Crow Wing, Minnesota, because he knew Rev. John Johnson Enmegahbowh was there, and he wanted Enmegahbowh's advice as to where to look to settle.

The area where the Cutlerites wanted to settle was the hunting grounds of the Sioux and Chippewa. As they traveled from town to town they were warned settling that area would be risky. Settlements had been attempted earlier, but violent Indian outbreaks had kept them from becoming permanent. The explorers decided it would be best to make a treaty with the Indians.

They were camping near Red Wing, Minnesota, on October 21, and awoke to find the ground covered with snow. They had hoped to make it to Crow Wing before winter, but they decided they could go no further until spring. They would need to spend the winter in Red Wing.

Red Wing had only been settled 12 years prior, but it was already a thriving town with hotels, shops, a saw mill, and several hundred residents. They rented homes, and found work until they would be ready to continue the next spring.

Lewis Denna was anxious to meet with his friends so he did not want to stay in Red Wing long. After their families were settled, Lewis Denna, and Sylvester and Francis Lewis Whiting left for Crow Wing in early November in search of the Rev John Johnson Enmegahbowh.

In Crow Wing, they met with the Reverend John Johnson Enmegahbowh. Enmegahbowh agreed he would help them negotiate a treaty with the Indian tribes of the area.

Another group of Cutlerites decided to leave Manti on 16 Jan 1865. This group included two of Chancey Whiting's children, Isaac and Carmelia (Hazel Oakes' grandmother). Isaac's wife, Jenny (Sarah Jane Talcott), was also in the group. Snow was already on the ground when they departed.

Jenny wrote of the journey:

> We had bidden the folks good bye. Carmelia and I were seated back of the stove while Isaac sat in the front to drive. Father Whiting stood by the side of the wagon to bid us God-speed. Regrets were now vain and on we started. Carmelia began to cry bitterly and soon I joined her.
>
> It was snowing when we left Manti. We traveled only a few miles that first day. This was my first experience sleeping out-of doors and the weather turning cold in the night, I took a severe cold which stayed 3 weeks.
>
> My recollections of our journey from Manti to Red Wind are of cold stormy days and of evenings often spent around a roaring campfire visiting with fellow travelers. It was a long, wearisome journey, but we reached Red Wing at last where we were

> welcomed by several families who had preceded us there in September.

After the long journey, the second band of Cutlerites reached Red Wing, and found their friends and family there in good health. The band of Cutlerite explorers now numbered 41.

A month later, Lewis Denna and Sylvester Whiting left Red Wing to return to Crow Wing to meet with Enmegahbowh again. Enmegahbowh recognized the Cutlerites held many of the same values as his tribe. They were a tight-knit community, religiously devoted, and had the desire to establish a self-sufficient agrarian community. He welcomed their return.

Denna and Whiting hoped to negotiate a treaty, and asked Enmegahbowh for his assistance in meeting with several of the Indian chiefs. They met, but the Indians wanted some time to consider the treaty. They said, in the meantime, the Cutlerites could move into western Minnesota without fear.

The actual peace treaty was not signed until 29 Oct 1866 when Chauncy Whiting, Lewis Denna, and Almon Sherman met with Enmegahbowh and six other chiefs at Mille Lacs, Minnesota. Enmegahbowh was the spokesperson for the Cutlerites.

Jenny Whiting wrote of the treaty:

> Those who scoffed at our work among the Indians probably owed their lives to the signing of this very paper, as the treaty was never broken even though it was so short a time after the great massacre of 1862.

Years later, in a 1 Jan 1894 article Chancy wrote for the Fergus Falls Journal, he observed that when the golden rule was practiced, "man could live in peace with his neighbors regardless of race".

The rest of the scouting party was ready to leave Red Wing in the Spring of 1865. The night before they were to leave Red Wing,

pandemonium broke out. The Cutlerites could see flames rising into the sky and thought a building must have caught fire. Isaac Whiting went to investigate, and found a massive bond fire set in the town center to celebrate the ending of the Civil War.

The next day, 6 Apr 1865, the party set out for Crow Wing, Minnesota. Progress was slow because the roads were muddy from recent rains and melting snow. They only traveled nine miles that first day. Then a blizzard hit delaying them for another three days. Their covered wagons were their only means of shelter, but they survived the storm. When they reached Crow Wing, Denna and Sylvester Whiting were there waiting to continue on the journey with them.

From Crow Wing they all set out to Otter Tail County. During their trip they encountered a forest fire where they had to repair a burned bridge, but managed to continue on. After another few days of travel, they reached the south shore of Otter Tail Lake. They camped for the night on the shore of the lake.

Jenny Whiting wrote of finding the lake:

> When we finally reached Otter Tail Lake, and I stood on the shore watching the rolling waves, it seemed as though we had reached the end of the world. At the north end of the lake I could see a dim mysterious looking forest, back of me was a row of log houses and north of those was an Indian burying ground. The houses were only empty shells and so filthy we could not even step inside. I suppose they had been built by white settlers before the raid and perhaps they had all been murdered by the savages. As I thought of their possible fate, I turned away shuddering.

The next morning, the Whitings - Lewis, Sylvester, and Isaac - left the camp to search for a location to settle the colony. They came to an inlet that flowed into Battle Lake which was teeming with fish. Avid fishermen, Isaac and Lewis stopped to fish. Sylvester reprimanded them, and so they made their way around to the

north side of Battle Lake. Here a large pasture appeared to offer a good place for a settlement. With the decision made, they returned to the camp before nightfall.

The following morning the entire colony went to the new location. The settlers approved, and immediately began clearing the land - felling trees, removing brush, and building a simple boat. Though most of the settlers were happy with the site, Sylvester Whiting was not. He didn't believe they had found the spot where God wished them to be.

That night he dreamed of an old woman with a broom driving them off with her broom. He told this dream to the others so a few took the boat across the lake to explore further. There they found Clitherall Lake, and were impressed with this new area. They returned to camp that night, and told the others of their find.

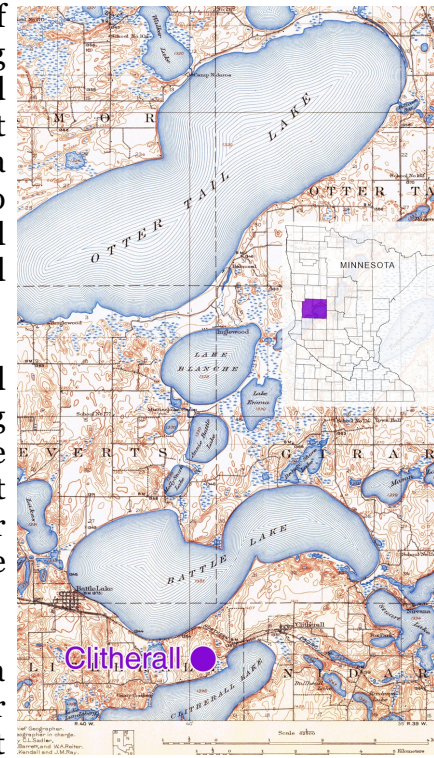
The next morning several more of the settlers, including Sylvester and Lewis Whiting, went back to this location. Together they prayed, asking God for guidance. They received a revelation that this was the appointed place for the Church to be built. The following day, 6 May 1865, everyone arrived at the new location, and they were all pleased with the choice. Later, they learned the area they first chose, on Battle Lake, was owned by speculators, and they would not have been permitted to stay.

A few days after arriving, Sylvester Whiting noticed bark on a tree had been cut off and was being covered by new bark. He cut the bark away, and found the word Clitherall carved into the tree. The Cutlerites decided to name their town Clitherall. Unbeknownst to them, Clitherall was Major George B. Clitherall, once a US land agent at Otter Tail City.

As soon as the spot was chosen, the Cutlerites wasted no time starting preparations. Sixty acres of prairie sod were plowed, and different kinds of grain and vegetables were planted. Next, shelter needed to be constructed. The men worked together building cabins, and the exterior of a log cabin was completed nearly every

day. The cabins had dirt floors, their roofs were covered with long shingles, and everything was shaped using axes. Fourteen such cabins were built.

There were cook stoves in most of the cabins, but few had heating stoves. That first winter it would become so cold at night that bread, even when placed next to a fire, would freeze solid, and had to be cut with an axe and steamed the next morning before it could be eaten.



Clitherall Location

Unaccustomed to the severe cold and deep frost, they had not dug cellars deep enough to prevent the freezing of some vegetables, but wild game and fish supplied their needs, and they all survived the winter of 1865.

21 year old Zeruah Sherman, a granddaughter of Cutler, sat for hours by the fireplace. By the light of a single candle, she wove cloth, knit socks, stockings, and mittens for whoever needed them.

Time must have diffused the memories of that winter for Rebecca Murdock who remembered it optimistically:

> We had lots to eat. Besides venison we had ducks and geese so fat they would fry themselves, and we had cranberries and maple-sugar and raised lots of potatoes. Of course our first house was a small shack, not built very warm, but there was plenty of wood around to keep fires going, even if the snow did come so deep that the men had to walk on top of the snow

> banks and cut dead limbs off the trees for fuel. And then we were young in those days, you know.

That winter Isaac Whiting's son, Charles, was born. He was the first white child born in Otter Tail County. Jennie was so weak after the birth she was unable to care for herself let alone her baby so her sister-in-law Carmelia helped.

The night after Charles was born, Carmelia was watching him, and made a bed on the floor next to the fireplace for herself and Charles. Cradling the baby in her arms, Carmelia fell asleep under the blanket. Isaac, too, had fallen asleep.

Jenny, however, was too stressed to sleep, and lay there watching the fire. An exploding coal sent embers onto the blanket setting it on fire. Jennie wrote:

> I tried to call out and awake them but was so weak I could only whisper. Then I tried to reach Isaac to wake him but he was just beyond my reach. I expected every moment to see the bed clothing burst into flames and we all be burned alive.

The baby started crying, and woke Carmelia. The fire had burned through every quilt, and was about to catch the feather bed on fire. Luckily, the disaster was averted.

The Second Immigration to Clitherall

With a location for the settlement chosen, the main body of the Church was ready to move from Manti, Iowa. Along with them would go most of their cattle and sheep, and as much of the seed, implements, and tools they could transport. The journey would be slow and tedious, but with warm weather coming, there would be grass for the herds, and the prospects of good weather for travel.

While the exploration party sent back glowing reports of their new settlement, some of the Cutlerites back in Manti, Iowa, were hesitant to make the move. They were weary of the years of moving

from place to place, and their farms in Iowa had become prosperous. Some felt they were too old to make another exhausting journey, and start over again. Most of those that wanted to move north were younger families looking for new opportunities. They were also the more passionate of Cutler's supporters.

Those who decided to make the trip were ready to depart on 31 May 1865. They were 23 families in 35 covered wagons who left Manti, Iowa, for Clitherall. They wished their friends and relatives good bye, and then started out toward Minnesota following the same route used by their scouting party. Among this party was Chancey and Editha Whiting and their family that had stayed behind in Iowa. Also in this group were Reuben and Eliza Oakes and their family of eight, and Eliza's birth family - the Murdocks.

Chancey Whiting's daughter, Editha Ann, nine years of age at the time of the trip wrote:

> We girls had brought our dolls with us for company and the only real heartache I remember was when we drove off and left our little dog Ring behind. He had been our playmate so long that to see him sitting there wagging his tail and watching and listening for an invitation to go with us made the big lumps come up in our throats until we nearly choked. Father thought two dogs were too many to take along, and as we had another one which the boys called theirs. They won out and we had to leave Ring with our friends.
>
> We soon reached our first camping place, only four miles from home where we stayed three days waiting for all the company to get together for the trip. When all arrived we started out together. There were about 35 wagons.
>
> In the evenings after the dishes were washed and mother made things ready for the night, all of the girls would get together for a ramble over our camp grounds and as far away as we dared venture to see the beautiful new country.

> On rainy days we girls had to stay in the wagons, but would play with our dolls, read, eat our lunch, and so pass the time very pleasantly.
>
> We milked our cows and poured the milk into a big can, tied a strong wire around it, and hung it under the wagon. When night came the jar of the wagon had churned the milk until there were large lumps of butter in it. so we had butter provided for us without our having the work of churning it.
>
> I must tell how the sheep were taken across the streams and rivers. The men would wade into the water, one after another, taking hold of hands, until the line of men reached across the stream. Then someone drove the sheep into the water, one at a time, and each man in the line pushed the sheep along to the next man until all were safely over.

Charles Ervin Murdock (age 15), Eliza's nephew, had to walk the entire distance herding the family's sheep. There weren't enough horses for everyone, so many of the boys walked the entire trip. Lurette Whiting, another of Chancey's boys and the same age as Charles Murdock later wrote:

> As we were all barefooted, the long walks often made our feet very sore. I can never forget how the sand would cut our faces when the wind was blowing hard across those long stretches of prairie, especially if one was on the side of the herd where the sand cut loose from the cattle's feet.

After only a few days of travel, 6 of the 23 families abandoned the journey and returned to Manti. They were considered to be weak of faith. It didn't help that the locals they met along the way advised against the trip. Chancey Whiting said of this advice:

> Many kind and feeling friends along the road, although entire strangers, most earnestly entreated us to abandon the idea of settling in Otter Tail County without an army to protect us. Otherwise, they said, the Indians would massacre the entire

> company of men, women, and children. They cited to us the horrible scenes at New Ulm, and elsewhere and, indeed, we could not blame them for being so dreadfully scared.

Still, the Cutlerites continued on, sure that they would be able to live in peace with the Indians.

Those Cutlerites already in Clitherall were aware that the second group would soon be arriving. Near the end of that July, Jennie and Carmelia Whiting would scramble to the top of Cowbar Hill, the highest point around, to watch for the train of covered wagons. Their patience was rewarded on Jul 31, 1865, when they spotted the wagons coming across the prairie. The first to greet the wagons was Isaac Whiting who jumped on his horse, and raced to meet them.

Editha Ann Whiting wrote:

> July 31, we drove out of Leaf Mountains, where we had gone up hill and down until we were dizzy. We came out on a broad prairie and we now knew that we were within a few miles of Clitherall.
>
> Soon we saw in the distance a man on horseback riding toward us at great speed, which proved to be our dear brother Isaac coming to meet us. We were oh, so happy! I remember mother cried for joy when she recognized him.
>
> We moved into our log cabins, some of which had already been built for us, and spent in them many happy, never to be forgotten years.

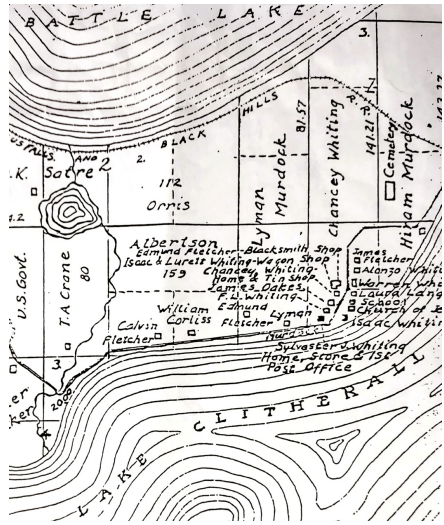
The Cutlerites were in their new home.

Life in Clitherall

Reuben Oakes' brother-in-law, Hiram Murdock, and Chancey Whiting filed for homesteads to provide land for the Cutlerites.

The land was situated between West Battle Lake and Clitherall Lake. The claims of all the settlers made up slightly more than one square mile, or 640 acres.

The town was laid out on the north shore of Clitherall Lake. Reuben and Eliza Oakes built their log home on Chancey's homestead which would become the village of Clitherall.



Clitherall 1884

The close-knit settlers were almost entirely independent from the outside world. They imported flour the first year. After that, only iron had to come from the outside. Labor, tools, and produce were shared. Wild game furnished meat. Maple trees provided sugar, syrup, and vinegar. Nearly every home took part in some kind of manufacturing - wagons, cloth, shoes, tools, or tinware. Even clothes pins!

Little more than a year after the community was formed, a log church was built and dedicated on 1 Jan 1867 with a special service and a dedicatory prayer by Chancey Whiting.

Years later, a local resident, E.E. Corliss wrote in a brief history of the Cutlerites:

> By 1870, when I first came to the county, there were about fifteen men with their families in this settlement. Their names as I recall them were as follow: Mr. and Mrs. Chancey Whiting, Lewis Whiting and Sylvester Whiting—a year or two later another brother, Almon Whiting, his wife and children joined them: Hiram and Lyman Murdock: John, Albert and Edward Fletcher, three brothers and their families, all large families with children grown to manhood and womanhood and some of

them married; Isaac, the oldest son of Chancey Whiting, Warren Whiting, Reuben Oakes. Sr., and James Oakes, his son; Marcus Shaw, Jeremiah Anderson, Jesse Burdock, and a full-blooded New York Indian by the name of Dana, with his white wife; Thomas Mason and a Mrs. Mason, widow, and her daughter; Charles Taylor and the two McIntire brothers, Joseph and Sylvester.

The settlers in Otter Tail county took up as homesteads about all the land between Clitherall and Battle lake. Much of this land taken by them lay in a strip about one mile in width; that is, they took a strip four forties wide from the north shore of Clitherall lake to the south shore of Battle lake. They opened up a road along the north shore of Clitherall lake and built their houses, barns, etc., along this road, so that the whole settlement was in a compact group. They erected a log church with a secret chamber in which they worshiped for more than fifty years.

The men were nearly all farmers, although there were a number of skilled artisans among them. Edward Fletcher was a good blacksmith; Marcus Shaw was a stone mason and plasterer; Chancey Whiting, their priest and prophet, was a fine mechanic and could make all kinds of furniture, but gave most of his attention to wagon making; "Uncle Al" Whiting was a chair maker; "Uncle Vet" Whiting was the storekeeper, postmaster and a famous hunter.

Indian Neighbors

The Cutlerites had come to Minnesota to teach the Indians their religion, and hopefully convert them. Once settled in, the Cutlerites began to reach out to their Indian neighbors. The Cutlerites were accepting of the Indians, and for the most part the Indians respected their new neighbors aided by the acceptance of Reverend John Johnson Enmegahbowh.

When the main group of Cutlerites first arrived in Clitherall, some

of the young people wanted to see the Indians. Emma Whiting wrote:

> We were anxious to go and were led down by the lake shore where a lot of Indians were camped. But when we came in sight of them we were so frightened that Lide (Lucia Whiting) got behind me and hung to my waist so tight I could scarcely walk and my own teeth were chattering. But the girls declared they would not hurt us so we ventured close enough to the wigwams to get a peep at a papoose and this banished our fears, and it was not long until the Indian children were our playmates, though they were so rough we never enjoyed them much.

One evening an Indian rushed into the log cabin of Lyman and Rebecca Murdock, agitated, and saying the Sioux were coming. He pleaded for some gun powder and lead, so Lyman gave some to him. Later, they learned the Indian had used the same tactic at many of the cabins, and had procured plenty of powder and lead from the settlers.

The next time Rebecca saw the Indian she asked him, "Well, did you get enough powder and lead to hunt musk-rats with?" He guiltily replied "Oh, damn, how you know?"

The Indians' camp was not far from the Hiram Murdocks' home and their stock of sheep. Eventually, the Indians' dogs started killing the Murdocks' sheep. Hiram spoke with the Indians, and they tried to control their dogs, but the killing of sheep continued.

Hiram's son, Charles, the same Charles Murdock who had walked from Manti to Clitherall herding these sheep, became incensed over the attacks. Finally, he had enough and he grabbed his gun vowing to go to the Indian camp and shoot every Indian dog. His mother, Rachel, tried to stop him but her efforts were in vain.

The Indians silently watched Charles approach their camp. They picked up rifles, and waited. Rachel watched the events unfold, unable to do anything knowing if Charles fired a single shot he

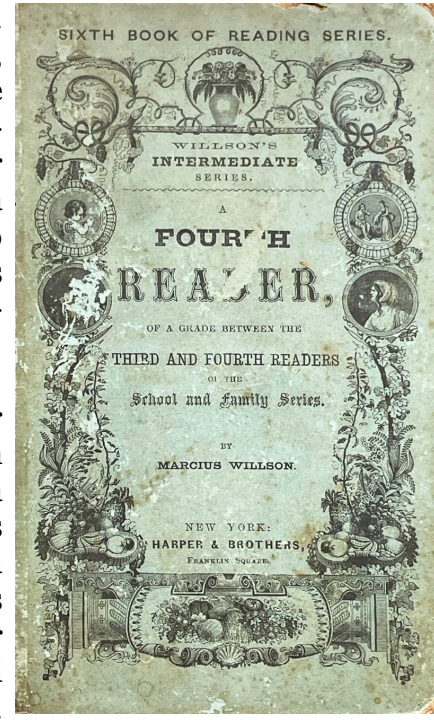
would be killed. Before doing something rash, Charles regained his senses, and returned home.

A few hours later, the Murdocks looked out their window to see several Indian women walking up the bank carrying their down bedding. They stopped in front of the Murdocks' house, took out knives, and slit their bedding open allowing the feathers to blow across the icy lake. The Indians had destroyed their own bedding to express their remorse to the Murdocks.

In the end, though, the Cutlerites failed to convert any Indians to their faith, though in time, a few outside settlers would join.

School

The first summer, Francis Lewis Whiting's daughter, Emma, would organize the younger children under a tree to teach them. Though only 12 years old herself, she would try to remember the lessons she was taught. The parents encouraged her, and paid her $8 a month for her efforts. Emma said, "I tried to get the children to be good and try to learn. I guess they tried to mind for I don't remember any serious trouble."



Wilson Reader ca. 1860s

The winter of 1866-1867, a regular school was organized. Zeruah Sherman, who had attended a year at Tabor College in Iowa, was employed by the town for $16 a month to teach 30 pupils. She was the first official teacher in Otter Tail County. The classes were held in the cabin of Reuben Oakes Sr. They used books they brought

with them such as Wilson Readers and McGuffey's Spellers.

The classes were held Tuesday through Friday. Monday was wash day, and girls were expected to help their mothers wash. No girl's education was considered complete until she was taught house-keeping and home economics.

One of the students in that first class was George Johnson, son of Rev. John Johnson Enmegahbowh. His father wanted to give George an education, and, hearing of the school in Clitherall, sent George there to learn and board with a local family.

Among those that taught at the Clitherall school were Hattie Oakes and Emily Whiting. The first teacher, Zeruah, eventually married one of her pupils, Warren Whiting, another of Chancey's sons.

In 1880, a new site was selected and a frame schoolhouse was built which was used for many decades. Pictured nearby is that Clitherall schoolhouse in 1910. The Oakes family had moved from Clitherall just prior to 1910, so Hazel Oakes did not attend this school, but her brother Alfred Raymond Oakes might have.

Clitherall School - 1910

Trade and Commerce

The nearest store was Sauk Center which was 65 miles away. For a few years, the Cutlerites had to haul their grain to St. Cloud, 100 miles away. St. Cloud was also the nearest post office. Later, mail was carried for a winter from Alexandria by dog sled. On 24 Oct 1869, Clitherall was the first township organized in Otter Tail County.

The first store was one room in Sylvester Whiting's home where groceries, shoes, and dry goods were sold. Later, the goods were

moved to a new building near Lewis Whiting's house, and Lewis kept the store. A bear paw nailed to the gate post meant bear meat was available at Hiram Murdock's tavern.

Stagecoach service started running through Clitherall. Chancey Whiting made a sign with a picture of a stagecoach and the words "Farmer's House" and posted by the road. Within months, the stagecoach passengers were stopping daily to eat lunch at Murdock's tavern. While the income was appreciated, it brought additional work for Mrs. Murdock and the children.

Fourth of July Celebration

In 1870, the people of Clitherall invited the citizens of St. Olaf to come to Clitherall to celebrate the 4th of July. George Hammer, a resident of St. Olaf wrote of the experience:

> Several loads of St. Olafites eagerly accepted the invitation and made ready for the trip. We were exceedingly anxious for the day to come, as many strange stories concerning the "Mormons" had come to us. Some said the men had horns on their heads like yearling calves. Others said the women had noses like fish hooks.
>
> When we drove past "Mother Mac's" home and up a little hill when on our left stood a man. I wish I could fitly describe him. He reminded me of Jacob who wrestled with the Angel and dislocated his hip. He was standing on one foot, his left hand holding his hat. His right hand holding his cane, while he voiced a happy welcome with his waving black locks and beard his happy face and whole attitude making such a pleasing picture that my heart then and there went out to "Uncle Vet" [Sylvester Whiting].
>
> "Uncle Chancey" gave the address, telling of Gods providence in guiding them to this beautiful shore. Then the dinner hour came. A long table in the grove had been prepared. It was covered with snow-white table cloths and fairly groaned under

its load of good things - green peas, new potatoes, chicken pie, goose-berry pie, maple syrup, maple sugar, sweet cake, great loves of pure white flour bread and pounds and pounds of yellow butter.

We visited all the interesting places of Clitherall. Among these I recall Uncle Vet's store, Uncle Chan's tin-shop, Uncle Ed's blacksmith shop, Uncle Al's chair shop and his mules, Rett and Lon's wagon shop, Warren's clothespin factory, the saw-mill run by horse-power, and the queer little schoolhouse on the lake shore.

We returned to our homes that night impressed with the thought that abides with us still, that the pioneers of Old Clitherall were among the salt of the earth. They were honest, law-abiding, industrious, God-fearing, and neighborly in the fullest measure.

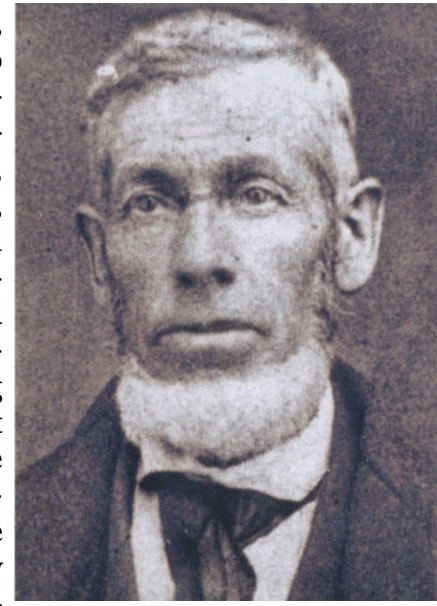
Entertainment

Violins, or fiddles, were a common source of music for settlers. Not only did the Whitings play, but so did John Fremstad, Hazel Oakes' husband. Lurett Whiting, Chancey's son writes of their musical adventures:

> Uncle Sylvester who had brought one [a violin] with him took that for a pattern and made another which I bought from him and began to learn to play. I succeeded so well that I was soon able to play "Old Grimes is dead, that good old man," and though it was a doleful beginning it made the other boys still more anxious to play, so we went to work ourselves and made three more violins, getting a supply of strings from Alexandria and the hairs for the bows from the tail of Isaac's old gray mare.
>
> When all were finished we gathered around the big fireplace and started up. Well, such a fearful racket you never listened to - not one of the new "fiddles" being in tune. The

> "music" grated on mother's [Editha] nerves until she said it would be impossible to ever stand the noise and she wished there had never been such an instrument brought into the house, but father took our part and said he wanted us all to learn to play, as a good musician always had the front seat.
>
> Well, we kept everlastingly at it, and it was not very long until things were running smoothly and we could play well together. Then dear mother began to smile again, and I shall never forget the pleasant evenings of my boyhood spent in the old log house with the family gathered before the roaring fireplace and mother asking us to play together her old favorite pieces.

The Ordaining of Chancey Whiting



Chancey Whiting

When Cutler died, Charles Sperry, an elderly man, was given the top office of First Counselor as a temporary position. He held the position only because Cutler's son, Thaddeus, had left the Church, and it was Thaddeus that had been expected to take over leadership. Discussions had occurred from time to time to select a permanent president, but in-fighting prevented a decision. Most felt that Chancey Whiting should be president, but some were reluctant to give him the position. The members of the Cutler family were the majority of the dissenters. Finally, on 30 Jun 1867, Chancey was accepted as the President, and ordained by Charles Sperry.

Most of the Cutlerites accepted Chancey Whiting as the president,

but some did not and they moved away from Clitherall, many going to the competing RLDS Church. In such a small community, the loss of these members hurt the Church and the town. Though Whiting was unable to prevent the loss of members to RLDS missionaries, he managed to hold the remnant of his church together until his death in 1902.

The Oneness

The Latter-day Saints and the Cutlerites had tried and failed to implement a communal society several times. This was one of their basic church doctrines called "Order of Enoch" or "The Oneness". They wanted to create a utopian community of economic and social equality. All property and land, except for a few personal possessions, were to be turned over to the Church to be held for anyone to use. Each family would keep enough of their harvest to provide for themselves, and give the rest to the Church to be held in a common storehouse to be used by any member of the Church in need.

Under Cutler's leadership in Manti, in the early 1860s, the Cutlerites had tried to implement "The Oneness" with only limited success. Some members participated, and deeded their property to the Church while others did not. This created a rift between Church members. With so few members to begin with, a divisive doctrine could not be enforced.

Chancey Whiting attempted to implement "The Oneness" again in 1872. E.E. Corliss writes of this:

> In the early seventies the community was a sort of commune, or, as they called it, “The Oneness.” All property was to be turned into the Church. All grain and provisions were to be placed in the Church granary and issued to members by the Storekeeper. When they adopted this rule the members of the community, although not wealthy, were very prosperous; but under the new system all or nearly all they had laid up was soon exhausted and little or no property was left in the store or in

the hands of the members. So they broke up the "Oneness" and returned to their original mode of life and were soon again prosperous.

Non-Cutlerite Immigration

In the 1870s, northern European immigrants began to follow the Cutlerites into the Clitherall township. When the Cutlerites arrived in 1865, there might have been a dozen white settlers in the county, most trappers. By 1870, the population was nearly 2,000. The Cutlerites knew immigrants were moving into the county, but they didn't anticipate the large numbers that would soon follow. By 1875, the Cutlerites were surrounded by Scandinavian farmers. The population of the county was over 15,000 with more arriving every day. The Swedes and Norwegians vastly outnumbered the Cutlerite community.

In 1874, Chancey Whiting wrote of first arriving in Clitherall and how it had changed since:

The Fergus Falls Journal, Jan 1, 1874

Letter from Another Old Settler What has been Accomplished in the Last Eight Years -- The Hardships of Pioneer Life -- A Homily on Good Citizenship.

In the spring of 1865, a small Colony, myself being one of the number, left south-western Iowa, and proceeding northward in search of new homes. On our way we were often accosted by strangers desiring to know the place of our destination; being properly informed, several of them entreated us with all the feeling of friendship possible, not to settle in Otter Tail County, because if we did, we would all be massacred by the savages; citing us to the horrible scenes enacted at New Ulm and other places. Of course, it had its discouraging effect upon the minds of some, especially the women and children. A few families stopped by the way side, while the remainder proceeded on the journey, arriving at Clitherall Lake the last day of July, 1865, when claims were taken, and log cabins erected to serve as shelters for our families. Here we found ourselves the sole settlers of the interior of Otter Tail County, except the wild natives of the forest. We visited their chiefs and by judicious steps and manifestations of kindness

succeeded in winning their confidence and friendship. Thus we found that friendly words and actions will beget its own likeness, and even the savage heart at times may be disrobed of that warlike spirit which has been the fearful dread of frontier settlers; and in many instances, and not until strong arm of government has first planted her battlements upon the walls, have ventured upon the trackless plains and dense forests, and spread the broad folds of civilization industry and wealth along the borders of the savage haunts. However as to bravery we have nothing to boast and perhaps had nothing to fear as to danger in making the settlement, as soldiers were stationed at Alexandria, Pomme de Terre and other points. Yet our women and children often expressed their fears of sleeping with doors unbarred at night while they could hear the continual thumping upon the Indian's favorite drum, and through the windows see the curling smoke from the wigwam and the flickering blaze of the little camp fires around us.

But to return to the subject. As above stated; we found ourselves alone. No neighbors to visit with, no mills in any reasonable distance to grind our wheat and corn when raised. Our only or nearest resource for bread was Sauk Center or St. Cloud. With ox teams it required twelve days to make the trip. No saw mills to make our lumber. Our floors, doors, sash, tables, stands, cupboards, and other articles of furniture were all to be hewn out with the broad ax. No cultivated fields laden with their yellow grain lay before us. No country dwelling dotted the broad prairies, hills and valleys except a few deserted huts, which only served to make the surrounding scenery still more lonesome and dreary. No flourishing towns or villages, rearing their lofty tower and spire, as tokens of industry and civilization.

But now how changed the scene. Instead of the wild natives of the forest, the smoky wigwam, and uncultivated soil, on every side are visible marks of the white man's tread. The sound of the ax in the adjacent woods; the rattle of bells, and lowing of cattle in the distant groves; the shepherd's flock grazing upon the hill-side or leisurely reposing in the shady nook while the playful lambs are sporting on the green; large plantations crowned with their golden harvest, comfortable farm houses, broad lanes, and hard beat roads, town, cities and villages, and thoroughfares thronged with people marketing their produce, while to the right and left is heard the thundering of the iron horse along the great railways, conveying the rich products of Minnesota to older and distant lands.

Emigration from almost every country and clime are flocking by hundreds taking shelter and home

under the cool bracing climate of the north. In the vicinity of Fergus Falls, only a few short months ago and alone appeared an isolated dwelling the first sprout of the now flourishing village and county seat of Otter Tail County, being pleasantly situated along the margin of the Red River or great outlet of Otter Tail Lake, where now is erected, and in lively operation one of the best flouring mills in Northern Minnesota, and still sufficient power remaining to run all the machinery for the million. In connection with this saw and planing machinery is doing a lively business in the lumber line. The town is amply supplied with stores, printing offices, shops, and mechanics, all apparently in a prosperous condition. While the neighboring valleys around are rich and fertile, and fast settling with the real nerve and sinew to keep the whole machinery in motion. If all these changes have taken place within the last eight years, at the same ration what will another eight years develop?

Let the cry of country division never more be reiterated in our ears. Live at home, build up our own county, support our own farmers, merchants, mechanics, and printers. Starve out gamblers, rum sellers and rogues. Deal honestly with all mankind, give the lawyers nothing to do but to write recommends for your good-behavior. Never violate the rules of health and thereby save fifty or a hundred dollars a year to the family, for medicine. Observe law and order, select good old honest farmers to hold offices, allow them no extraordinary wages. Regulate the salaries of preachers and officers by the gospel rule, give your children useful employment and a reasonable education. Introduce into your houses the spinning wheel and loom instead of the piano and melodian. Shun the paths of sin and vice, love God supremely and your neighbors as yourself.

Be charitable kind and obliging to the poor and needy. Do all in your power to preserve peace and good order at home and abroad. Choose for your associates the respectable quiet civil ranks of society. And then our county will grow and flourish, population increase, towns and villages continue to spring up in every nook and corner. While our children will learn a lesson worthy to be handed down to the posterity. And soon a golden market will be planted at our own doors, and a happy circle of friends and neighbors gathered around us, county solvent, and money at interest.

C Whiting

The 1870's also saw several events in Hazel Oakes' ancestors' lives. **Hyrum Oakes married Carmelia Whiting** on 23 Feb 1870. Shortly afterwards, on 29 Nov 1870, **Harriet "Hattie" Rosina Oakes** (mother to Hazel Oakes) was **born** in Clitherall, Minnesota to Hyrum and Carmelia.

Around 1871, **Reuben Oakes Jr. married Louise Ann Bell Keller**. Shortly after, on 16 Mar 1872, **Chester Clarence Oakes** (father to Hazel Oakes) was **born** to Reuben and Louise in Cottage Grove, Ramsey County, Minnesota.

Eliza Oakes died in January of 1872, leaving Reuben Sr. with five children for which to care. About 1876, **Reuben married the widow Mary Muir Fletcher** for a combined family of 9 children living at home.

The Decline of Clitherall

Missionaries from the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) came into Clitherall to recruit members from the Cutlerites. Being of good nature, the Cutlerites befriended these missionaries, and some move into the area bringing the RLDS Church with them. That did nothing to help the dwindling Cutlerite Church.

The RLDS Church brought more attractive beliefs with it. Instead of rejecting all modern society as the Cutlerites did, they adjusted to society while maintaining many of their unique characteristics. All of the founding Cutlerite families lost some, if not all, of their children to the RLDS Church. Chancey Whiting wrote to his sister,

Oaks or Oakes?

In a letter that Reuben Sr.'s grandson, James A. Oakes wrote to V. LeRoy Oaks on 21 May 1967, he noted, "....I, one day, added an 'e' to our name and thought it looked better, so next time I wrote to my relatives in Minnesota, I signed my name Oakes. To my surprise the rest of the family followed suit, and from about 1909 to the present time we have continued to use the letter 'e'."

Most references to Oakes, even of prior generations, now use the form Oakes. The author uses Oaks only for Selah and Catherine Oaks.

Emeline, of "the terrible foolish move" made by his children "in joining the Josephites as they are called".

Also hastening the decline of Clitherall was the advent of the railroad. In 1881, the *Northern Pacific, Fergus, and Black Hills Rail Road Company* built the Fergus and Black Hills line from Wadena, Minnesota, to Fergus Falls, Minnesota. The railroad missed Clitherall by about 2 miles. The *New* Clitherall sprang up around the new rail station, leaving the original *Old* Clitherall (or Old Town as it became known) to whither.

New Clitherall was a financial disaster for Old Clitherall. All of the commercial trade moved to the new town. Further, other towns began to form nearby, further diluting trade. In about 1879, Frances Lewis Whiting and his brother Almon moved from Old Clitherall to the north side of Battle Lake to adjoining homesteads in Girard Township. Both needed more resources for their farms and businesses. By 1900 New Clitherall had 167 residents, Old Clitherall only 20.

E. E. Corliss wrote of the later years of Clitherall:

> The community, as a Mormon Church, has scattered. Many have joined the Joseph Smith, Jr., branch; others have left the Church or moved away. Now there remains only a small number of the faithful who are struggling to maintain the Cutlerite branch of the Church, and keep the divine authority at Old Clitherall. These faithful old settlers had built beautiful homes on this tract of land. Old Clitherall, like Otter Tail City, once the commercial, political and religious center of the county, is today beautiful only in death.

Reuben Oakes Sr. died on 30 May 1890 in Clitherall, Minnesota of asthma. He was buried next to his first wife, Eliza, in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Clitherall. His obituary stated:

> "Mr Oakes was a man greatly respected by his neighbors, as the immense crowd at his residence on the day of his funeral and the long funeral train which followed the remains to their final resting place amply testified."

The Fergus Fall Daily Journal, 27 Aug 1927, wrote this article about Reuben Oakes Sr.:

"... Mr. Oakes in personal appearance he was a big strong man, weighing somewhere near 200 pounds not fleshy, but big-framed and muscular. In his visits about the neighborhood his dog, Colonel, always accompanied him. Colonel was a large smooth-haired mongrel type that had inherited the ugly characteristics of all his forebears, and the dog left his vicious marks upon several members of the family before he was finally disposed of. Mr. Oakes was a man of great physical strength, courageous, truthful and not given to boasting; and the following story which may seem fabulous to some is fully credited by those who knew him. One winter when he was working in a lumber camp the driver of the tote-team failed to bring the payroll to camp as he should have done. When the men came in from work and learned that they would have to wait until the next lead of supplies was needed before they could get their month's wages, they were in an ugly mood. They tried to persuade

the tote-driver to go back and get the money; but it was twenty miles to the supply station, and the trail led through heavy timber infested by wolves and other wild animals, and the driver dared not make the trip after night fall, fearing that both himself and team might become the prey of wolves. Supper that night was a gloomy affair, and Mr. Oakes, possibly thinking that a pack of wolves could be no more unpleasant than a crew of disgruntled lumber jacks, announced, after the meal was over that he would go for the money. He was reminded of the danger of wolves and was warned not to go. But he started out on foot. The early darkness of the winter night had settled and there were twenty long miles before him. However, he was not daunted, but set out on a little jog trot and arrived at the supply station without incident, secured the payroll and started for camp. On his return trip he heard the howling of the wolves, but he kept on, weaponless and unafraid. Finally he saw in the dim light a big wolf sitting directly in his path and baring his teeth in an ugly manner. Mr. Oakes, who was still traveling at his little jog trot, advanced upon the wolf and breaking his trot, swung out with his heavy cowhide boot and gave the wolf a powerful kick in his face. His snarl changed to a yelp of pain and he turned tail and scurried to safety. Mr. Oakes resumed his journey without further interruption and arrived at the camp in time for breakfast the next morning, having walked the forty miles during the night.

Another story of his great physical strength and of his moral courage is remembered by those who knew him. Once he was traveling and had stopped to spend the night at a tavern in some city. At that time bars where intoxicating drinks were sold were usually operated in connection with the hotel. As Mr. Oakes was sitting in the bar room [eating] supper two drunken men entered and invited everybody in the room to drink with them. Mr. Oakes was a temperance man and never drank, so he kept his seat when the rest of the crowd pushed their way to the bar. The two men noticing that Mr. Oakes did not drink with the others, gave him a special invitation, but he thanked them and said that he never drank. He was then urged, coaxed and finally threatened, but he still refused. The two men then decided to force him to drink, one would hold him as the other one poured the liquor down his throat. As the men approached to carry out this plan, Mr. Oakes seized number one, lifted him bodily from the floor and tossed him into the fireplace where a bed of coals was smoldering. Then he picked up a chair and stood on the defensive ready to greet number two. But number two somewhat sobered by seeing the fate of his

companion, dodged the issue and retreated to a zone of safety. The man who landed in the fireplace also retreated to a zone of safety, somewhat scorched about the hands and knees, but otherwise, much improved. It is needless to say that Mr. Oakes was not molested during the remainder of his stay at the tavern."

Editha Whiting, wife of Chancey, **died** on 30 Mar 1893. She was buried in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Clitherall.

Though separated by distance and beliefs, the Whiting family maintained their relationships by letter. In 1894, Chancey Whiting wrote this letter to his Latter-day Saint sister Emeline Whiting Cox:

> I call to mind the scenes of our childhood, and the once united living and happy family circle, with dead parents, Father and Mother to cheer, comfort and counsel, and now to behold the wide separation with no opportunity of conversing face to face, I could weep like a child would it do any good. I can well remember many of the joyful seasons of our youthful days; But at that early period we never even dreamed of a painful separation or that miles would ever intervene to deprive us of the sweet associations which tend to brighten the pathway of life, and spread its cheerful sunshine along our advancing steps to riper years.

Fortunately, in January of 1902, Chancey's family held a family reunion, and 50 of Chancey's children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren were in attendance. Shortly after, **Chancey Whiting passed away**, 7 Jun 1902, in Clitherall. He was buried at the Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Clitherall. Chancey Whiting is remembered today as one of Otter Tail County's leading early residents.

The waning Cutlerite Church would have died with Chancey except for his son Isaac Whiting who took up the torch. Weekly church meetings were resumed. A new two story church was built on the

site of the old log church with contributions from the few remaining, but much more prosperous, Cutlerites.

The True Church of Jesus Christ, Clitherall, Minnesota

In 1912, under the leadership of Isaac Whiting, the church had seen an increase in commitment so they attempted to implement "The Oneness" again. Again it found limited success. The cemetery was deeded to the church as were a few farms and homesteads. This time,"The Oneness" never gained traction as the Church began its final decline.

Lucy Whiting Erwin, youngest daughter of Chancey Whiting, purchased much of the land that had been Chancey's homestead. Further, many of the Cutlerite families gave Lucy their deeds to their unoccupied land in Clitherall for one dollar. Lucy sold her accumulated land holdings on 28 Sep 1927 to outsiders that would turn it into a fishing camp, presently known as Old Town Resort.

In 1930, a new highway was built between Fergus Falls and Wadena, paralleling the railroad. This was the final death knell for Old Clitherall as it was completely cut off from the outside world. The last remaining store closed by the end of the year. For all intents and purposes, Old Clitherall was gone.

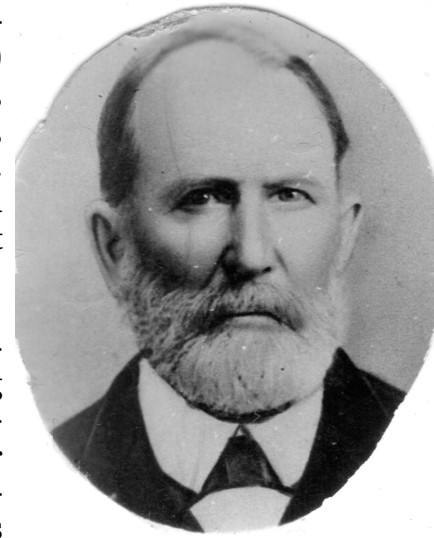
The Fifth Generation

The Fifth generation are the children of Ruben Jr. and Louise Oakes, and Hyrum and Carmelia Oakes. They had been young when Clitherall was founded and now their children were young adults.

Chester and Harriet Oakes are of the Fifth Generation, and Hazel Oakes' parents. Before continuing with the story of Chester and Harriet, Harriet's mother, Carmelia, and her sons have another adventure to tell.

Carmelia and Sons Immigrate to Canada

Hyrum Oakes (Carmelia's husband and Hazel's grandfather) had **died** in Clitherall, Minnesota, on 12 Sep 1901, leaving his wife, Carmelia, and their children. Without a father and living in a dying town, his children most likely wanted to leave Clitherall.



Hyrum Oakes

In the 1900s, the Canadian government was actively advertising to entice Europeans and Americans to immigrate to the interior of Canada - Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The Oakes heard about this free land, and, in 1905, sent away for literature which told them of "wonderful opportunities north of the border". Three members of the family traveled north to investigate, and came back, telling the rest of the family they had filed on five quarter sections of land (800 acres total).

James Alfred Oakes, Carmelia's youngest son, who wrote of this period in their lives, said:

> We were not exactly strangers to pioneer life as both the Murdock and Oakes families' fathers and grand-fathers had been early settlers in Minnesota. So we reasoned that we, being of pioneer stock, possessed all the necessary qualifications to successfully hew out a new life in the last great frontier.

Immigration Poster circa 1900

The family conferred, and most decided they would go to Canada. Carmelia Oakes and four of her sons William, George, Guy and James would make the trip. Another son, Leonard, would come later. Carmelia's daughter, Laura, who was now married to Frank Murdock, would also come with her husband and family. Carmelia's other daughters, Harriet and Clara, were married, and decided against the trek.

Said James:

> Mother, who had come to Minnesota along with other early pioneers, was now 60 years old, and starting out to once again face the hardships of a pioneer life. Father had died in 1901, but four of his sons were included in this new enterprise.

Their homesteads were at section 20, township 31, range 5, west of the 5th meridian. This was about 55 miles northwest of Calgary, Alberta. The nearest town was Elkton, 7 miles to the southeast.

In the spring of 1906, George, Guy, and William Oakes, and Frank Murdock went to their new homesteads in Alberta to prepare for the rest of the family. They used a train to transport themselves,

their equipment, and their livestock to the homesteads.

Once arrived, they had to drive the livestock and supplies from the train station to the homestead. The forest was too dense for the wagons to travel the last 7 miles to the homestead. They fell enough trees to allow their wagons to pass. Once through the forest, they had to find a suitable place to ford the Fallen Timber Creek. The final couple of miles of the journey were flat and open.

Once arrived, they needed to make haste preparing as an early winter storm could easily impede their progress. They built a log cabin 14 x 16 feet with two windows and one door facing south. Six inch tongue and groove boards were laid out on spruce logs, acting as joists, to keep the floor off the ground. The same tongue and groove boards used for the floor were used for the roof, and that was covered with heavy tar paper. The cracks in the logs were filled with a mixture of moss and clay to keep the weather out. Inside, the walls were covered with a heavy construction paper.

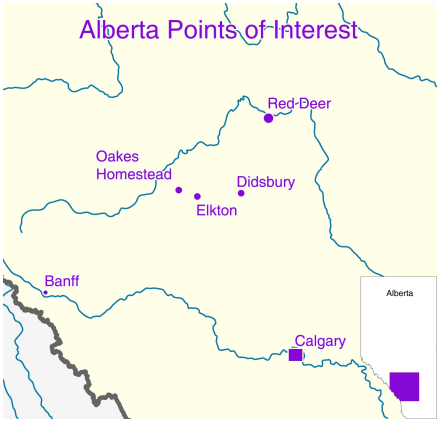
A makeshift barn was built for the horses, but the cows and calves were set free to fend for themselves as were the chickens.

Carmelia, her son James, and daughter Laura, her daughter-in-law Emma, and their children were still in Minnesota awaiting word that they could leave for Canada. When the men were ready, they sent word back to Clitherall, Minnesota, telling their families it was OK to depart.

The Oakes' trip to Alberta would be deplorable by even the worst modern standard. The car seats were just wooden slats so they could be easily hosed down. The passengers were mainly immigrants from Europe who had not bathed since starting out on long ocean and then train voyages. Each car contained a small cook stove used for "frying onions and a conglomeration of any and every thing. The stench was almost too much for our stomachs."

After traveling a thousand miles, the Oakes arrived in Didsbury, Alberta, on 25 Oct 1906, only to find no one waiting for them

though their arrival date had been sent.



James Oakes, only 16, felt he was the man of the group, and he took it upon himself to remedy the situation. He asked around town, and could find no trace of his brothers. The last anyone had seen of them had been a week earlier. He went to a livery stable, and found for $5 he could rent wagons and drivers to take everyone on to the homestead.

Everyone was excited to get to their new home quickly, and the sun set early that far north so they decided to leave immediately. The group made it as far as Elkton before the sun went down. There was some snow on the ground, and it was already freezing when they got there. The driver helped them find a couple of families in town that would take the entire group in for the night.

The next morning they started off on the trail through the forest the Oakes brothers had made earlier. It was a very rough trail for the wagons - and the people. James said:

> This was a pretty nerve wracking experience for the women folk, and as we penetrated deeper and deeper into the forest, the women began to cry. They thought the men folk had completely lost their minds to settle in a backwoods primitive place like this. Though my spirits were pretty low, I had to put on a brave front to convince Mr. James [the driver] that I was in reality a man.

When they arrived at the homestead, everyone was delighted to be together again. It turned out Frank Murdock had left the day before to meet them, and some how missed them on the way.

The entire group was together now: The maternal head of the family, Carmelia Oakes; son William Oaks and his family Emma and Kenneth; son George Oakes and his family Alta and Donald; son-in-law Frank Murdock and Laura, Guy, and Bernice; and the bachelors Guy Oakes and James Oaks.

With all 13 of them at the homesteads, they were packed into a single, small, 225 square foot log cabin. Building another cabin before winter came was of the utmost importance. Construction on Frank and Laura Murdock's cabin began immediately. "Lucky for us that the weather stayed mild, and day after day the chinook winds blew out of the west keeping the temperature well above freezing during the day. The nights were frosty, but as soon as the sun came up clear and bright, the frost would soon be gone."

Frank's cabin was finished during December 1906. It was quite a bit larger than George Oakes' cabin. It had an upstairs and enough room for 3 beds. Frank and Laura Murdock, and their two children, and William and Emma Oakes with their one child lived in this second cabin.

With the cabins built, they focused on preparing for winter. The cabins were banked with 2-3 feet of dirt to keep frost from getting under the cabins and into the canned fruit and vegetables. Though the chickens had long ago quit laying eggs, a chicken coop was built for them.

While the fall and beginning of winter had been mild, it changed for the worse the beginning of January. The winter of 1906/07 was one of the worst in central Canada's history. It decimated the cattle industry, killing at least half of the herds. When the snow finally melted, dead cattle were every where. The snow had been so high, dead cattle were even found in the trees. It was called *the big die* off or *the big stink*.

Not only did cattle die, but some settlers did as well. This was a public relations disaster for the Canadian government who had been actively trying to woo immigrants to the area, telling them the

winter weather was liveable.

James Oakes said the temperature got as low as 60 degrees below zero at their homestead. James was responsible for cutting the firewood for the cabin:

> I would wrap a wool scarf around my neck and across my mouth to breath through as 60 below zero one doesn't have to breath long and hard without danger of frosting the lungs. I cut wood from daylight until dark when I wasn't packing water, and piling it on the small porch beside the door where it would be handy to get to at night.
>
> Mother kept the fires stoked at night and Alta [George's wife] in the day time.

The deepest spot in the creek was 6 feet, and it froze solid all the way to the bottom. They had to melt snow for all their water needs. Their canned fruit and vegetables also froze solid. This was a catastrophe for the Oakes as the grocery store was 25 miles away, and they didn't have much money. They counted on that food to get them through the winter. The potatoes had froze too, but those could be thawed prior to eating. Only the flour was undamaged. They had no butter, milk, eggs, or meat. Their diet that winter consisted of bread, potatoes, and water gravy, and any game they could catch.

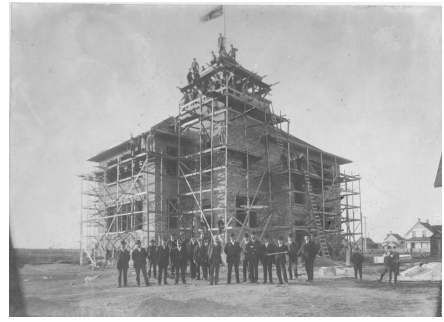
As they needed money, William, George, and Guy helped another settler build his cabin. They didn't have heavy enough clothes, and suffered from exposure to the bitter temperatures. After a few days at that job, they had to quit, but they found another at a logging camp. At this job, they were only given slips of paper showing their hours worked at 25 cents an hour. There was no one to give them cash for the slips, but the grocery store would take them in trade for food.

During the logging job, Guy came down with pneumonia from the extreme cold. The nearest doctor was 25 miles away, but it didn't

matter as they didn't have money. Carmelia doctored Guy with home remedies which was all she had to work with. Within a week, Guy's temperature got so high he became delirious. His temperature eventually broke, and he slowly improved.

As spring came, the cold weather waned. "At last the cold began to slowly moderate and never was mortal man more happy then when spring finally came".

The homestead laws required settlers only had to reside on the homestead for six months of the year. The men needed to find jobs so they all left the homesteads for town. They had to leave before the Fallen Timber Creek reached flood stage, or they would not be able to cross for a considerable time. They found a large house in southeast Didsbury that would hold them all for $5 a month. They left for town on 1 May 1907.



Didsbury School

A large school house was being built in Didsbury and the men got jobs as laborers for 25 cents a day working 10 hours a day. The work ended up being too much for 17 year old James, so he was transferred to the water wagon. Water was required for mixing concrete, and on the prairie the only water source was wells. James would hand pump water from wells into a 10 barrel (260 gallon) tank. It would take several hours to fill a single tank. As soon as one tank was filled, another was waiting for him.

They were to start a new job harvesting grain on 3 Sep 1907. When they got up that morning it was snowing hard. It continued to snow hard for the next three days. When the snow finally melted, all of the grain was laid flat on the ground. The flattened grain made it that much harder to harvest.

That fall, in 1907, they moved back to their homesteads. They built two new cabins, one on Carmelia's homestead, and one on William's. The new log cabins were smaller, and the men were now more skilled at building them so the job went faster. Both were one room cabins with an upstairs for sleeping. The bachelors, James and Guy, moved into their mother Carmelia's cabin, and the rest of the families now each had their own cabin.

The winter of 1907/08 proved to be mild, and they enjoyed their time on their homesteads. They now had milk cows, egg producing chickens, and they took precautions to make sure their vegetables never froze again.

Carmelia Whiting Oakes

The year 1908 was much like 1907. In the spring, they left their homesteads, and moved east to town to work as laborers.

Carmelia's son, Leonard Oakes, arrived that year. They had a homestead about six miles south of the rest of the family. Leonard put up a 24x24 log cabin on a concrete foundation, and it was the best built cabin of any in that part of the country.

That fall all the families moved back to their homesteads, and kept busy cutting trees into posts and mine props for the coal mines. The coal mines were a primary source of heat for the settlers on the prairies where there were no trees. It would take them three days to cut and haul one load of lumber to town where they made $16-$18 in store credit for groceries or feed.

None of the settlers returned to town in 1909, but stayed on their homesteads the entire year. James filed on his own homestead several miles to the west. They cut the wild grain from it, and

brought it back to feed livestock, but James never lived there.

By the winter of 1909, Frank Murdock and family stayed in town because he had a good job at a blacksmith shop there. Carmelia, James, and William moved into the Murdock's cabin, and took care of their livestock.

In the spring of 1910, only George and Alta stayed at their homestead as they had a growing herd of livestock. The rest of the families moved to Carstairs for the summer about five miles south of Didsbury. When they left, little did they know they would never return to the homesteads they had worked for so hard. Frank Murdock bought a house in the fall of 1910, on the south end of Didsbury, and the Murdock family along with Carmelia, Guy, and James moved into it.

The next several years the men worked as laborers, and the women cared for the house and the children. They worked many different jobs such as breaking virgin prairie, cutting and stacking hay, and loading and hauling gravel. Two rail roads, Canadian National Rail and Alberta Central, were building lines from Red Deer to Rocky Mt. House so they worked building those rail lines.

In the spring of 1913, Guy Oakes moved to Lawrence, Washington, following his future wife there. **James Oakes married Zetta Pearl Wheeler** on 30 May 1913. About this time, **Leonard Oakes** was diagnosed with throat cancer. He was operated on in Calgary, Alberta, but he never regain consciousness, and **died** on 12 Jun 1913.

The Murdock house caught fire in the fall of 1914, probably due to an overheated cookstove. Carmelia, and Guy and Bernice, Frank's children, were asleep upstairs when the fire broke out. Frank got everyone out of the house safely, but by then the house was fully engulfed, and nothing could be saved. Everyone was left homeless, living out of the barn and tents on the property. There wasn't time to rebuild before winter, so they rented a house nearby.

Before Christmas 1914, the Murdock family and Carmelia decided they wanted to return to Clitherall. They wasted little time, and left almost immediately. William traded his homestead that spring of 1915 for 10 acres of land near Bellingham, Washington, and moved there. Guy went with him. Guy and James being close in age, James sorely missed his brother's presence.

The entire family had left Canada except James and his wife, Zetta, who was expecting their first child in a few weeks. They were completely alone, living in the big house in Didsbury. They had no one to turn to for help. James said, "It was the first and most desperate situation I had ever faced on my own, and I was beside myself with worry."

He went to the barn of the house that had burned months before:

> I closed the doors, and there in the solitude of that empty barn, I poured out my heart to God. I asked God to in some way help us in this the darkest hour of our life. I stayed there perhaps for an hour, and I had never prayed as I did that day. I finally left, and walked the mile or so back to the place we were now living.

A few days later he was on the way to the post office to see if there was any mail from Minnesota. He had barely started out when he encountered a man, Walter Cornforth, who lived nearby. Though James had seen Walter on numerous occasions, they had never spoken. They had a friendly conversation, and he asked James what they did for entertainment. James replied they read stories, and played cards. Walter laughed, and said he didn't play cards because he was a Seventh Day Adventist. He said he'd be glad to stop by, though, and give them a Bible reading if they wished. James said, "We were so lonely for someone to visit with, I think we would of welcomed the devil!"

Walter and another parishioner came that evening. Said James:

> It was a very interesting study and though we had always had reverence for the good book, we knew next to nothing of its

> contents. I had been baptized into the Mormon church at the age of ten at my Mother's insistence, but the two hours that I was obliged to spend in church each Sunday was to me my greatest trial.

The Oakes found the study interesting, and invited Walter to come again and continue the study. "Thus began a new and welcome acquaintance with some very fine people." Mrs. Cornforth became a daily caller, and the church members helped the Oakes family through the birth of their child and beyond. James and Zetta were soon asked to join the church, and they did so enthusiastically.

Audrey Oakes was born 21 Jan 1915. James' prayers had been answered:

> Unbeknown and unrecognized, this was the first step in answer to my prayers. It wasn't until months later that I realized that in this unexpected manner had God seen fit to answer my plea for help.

James and Zetta remained Seventh Day Adventists and most likely were the ones to introduce it to their sister, Harriet Oakes.

Even with their new friends, James and Zetta missed their family, and wanted to return to the states. They sold their horses, packed their belongings, and, in early January 1916, they moved to North Dakota.

Some of the family went back to the homesteads in the 1960s. "We found little left to remind us of the hardship and toil it took to carve the homes from the wilderness so long ago."

Carmelia Oakes passed away 19 Apr 1926 at the age of 81 in Clitherall, 20 years after going to Alberta.

William and Guy Oakes stayed in Bellingham, Washington, at least until the 1920 census. 8 Mar 1923, **William Oakes died** in Fargo, North Dakota. **Guy Oakes** stayed on the west coast of

Washington state and **died** at Newport, Washington 18 May 1960.

George ended up in Nelson County, North Dakota, for much of his life - at least until the 1930 census. **George Oakes died** on 24 Feb 1943, in Clitherall.

Frank and Laura Murdock stayed in Clitherall at least until the 1930 census. They then moved to Sunnyvale, California where **Frank Murdock passed away** 10 Sep 1949.

James was in Fargo, North Dakota, until at least the 1930 census. By 1935, he was in Snohomish County, Washington and stayed there the rest of his life. **James Oakes died** 17 Jul 1973 in Mukilteo, Washington.

Chester and Harriet Oakes Settle in North Dakota

While her mother and brothers were in Canada, life went on for Harriet Oakes in Clitherall. On 16 Oct 1894, **Harriet Rosina Oakes married** her first cousin, **Chester Clarence Oakes** in Vining, Otter Tail, Minnesota. **Hazel Winifred Oakes** was born to Chester and Harriet Oakes in Clitherall, Minnesota, on 22 May 1902.

First Cousin Marriages

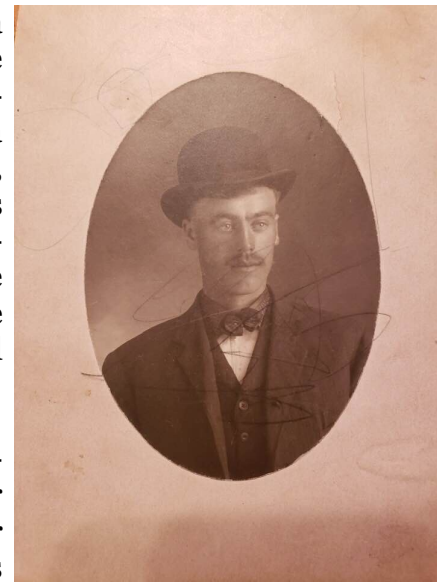
While most people in the United States would now consider cousins marrying unacceptable, it wasn't always taboo. In fact, it is still legal in 21 states and most of the rest of the world. In tiny communities like the Clitherall, it was probably not uncommon.

In *The Trail of the Pioneers*, Grace Oakes tells the story of her parents, Chester and Harriet Oakes, move to North Dakota in 1909 and their subsequent years living there:

> Chester C. Oakes and his wife Hattie came to North Dakota to Williston from Fergus Falls, Minnesota in April 1909. He and a friend named Albert Thom shipped in an emigrant car. This car contained horses, cattle, harness, chickens, walking plows,

cream separator, and household goods, some small seeds, and oats to feed the livestock. Albert Thom homesteaded on Cow Creek and moved his family out at once. Oakes filed on a homestead in Blue Ridge township about two miles northwest from Doc Zahl's ranch in April 1909, but the family lived in Williston until April 1910. The farm they lived on was the McChesney farm. Sloulin Airport is now on that site. [Sloulin Field is now closed but was located near U.S. Route 2 and 42nd Street W, Williston, North Dakota]

During the summer of 1909, a well was dug on the homestead, a two room tar-papered house was built, a small frame barn for horses, and a large sod barn for cows and chickens. During the winter my father worked out. One job was hauling coal from the Black Diamond coal mine, and delivering it around town.



Chester Clarence Oakes

In early spring of 1910, Chester and Hattie put all their worldly goods into two lumber wagons, tied three milk cows behind, and started for their homestead. Their children were Raymond, Hazel, Grace, and Chester Bernard.

The prairies were dotted with one room shacks and many of them were made of sod. Only those with families had more than one room. Raymond and later Hazel and Grace, attended school in the Hartland school.

Most of our groceries were bought at Rudser store. On rare occasions, a trip was made to Cottonwood Lake. New clothes were few, and came from relatives back east or Sears Roebuck and M. W. Savage company.

Harriet Rosina Oakes

Life was hard for everybody. Mother [Harriet Oakes] worked in the fields, helped with the cattle, and often walked to Rudser carrying two large jars of butter to trade for groceries.

I recall one very bad cyclone which came in the night. During this storm we went to the sod barn which seemed the safest place. Lightening struck Charley Kittleson's barn, burned the barn, some stock, harness, and even burned the dog up. It was time for harvesting, and all neighbors who could spare a horse or oxen, helped him to get his harvesting done. I recall we loaned one horse.

Another worry was fires, and one fall while Dad was away threshing we were very worried. The sky was dark and yellow looking, smokey all day. Mother never slept. We were warned when we went out to herd cows if we saw lots of bird flying and small animals all hurrying in one direction we were to hustle home.

Howard School 1908

In August 1914, we moved to Barr Butte township to the Dave Haskett farm [one mile

northeast of John Fremstad's homestead]. We started school in a low, long tar papered schoolhouse about one forth mile from home. Our teacher was Miss Alice Setter. We sat two in a desk, and the room was very crowded, but I do not recall how many pupils attended. We attended church, and Sunday School here in the Community Hall. Before we had walked over two miles to the Hartland School so this was nice, and many more people attended. Our minister was Reverend Alfred Roe. Mrs. Frank Larson played the organ, and William Marshall was my first Sunday School teacher, and later Ada Amsbaugh. Here Lydia Elstead was postmistress, and Dan Nero was our mail carrier. Charlie Johnson worked for J. E. Haskett in the bank. My dad drove about 35 head of cattle from the homestead to the Haskett farm, but as there was no grazing ground here, the cattle were driven to a place called Squires, and sold leaving only our milk cows. The cattle buyer, at the time, was a man named Carney. More wheat farming was done now, and the grain was hauled to Alkabo or Westby. This required two days.

We had close neighbors with children - the Jeffreys, Iver Stevens, and Frank Thiels. With store and school close, life was much better. In the summer of 1915, the Howard schoolhouse, now standing, was built. The fifteen carpenters boarded at our house, and through most of the summer some of the children hobbled on one foot due to stepping on a nail.

In 1915, our family went to Williston to see our first circus. Even by car, we drove with my dad's friend named Ole Jetson, it seemed like a long trip. The trails were not too good for cars, and you missed the rocks as best you could. Our first car ride was with Doc Zahl, and he covered mother and the kids in the back seat with a buffalo robe.

l to r: August Johnson, Ray Oakes, John Fremstad, Howard Garaas, C. C. Oakes: girls, Josie Fremstad & Olga Garaas. (Typical touring car in background)

Harriet Oakes Family Photo - 1941: Raymond & Chester; Edna, Hazel, Harriet, and Grace

[The town Zahl was named after Doc Zahl, and he reportedly saw Wild Bill Hickock murdered.]

My dad [Chester Oakes] was Irish and a great story teller. Also he was a firm believer in - "Grass is greener over the hill". In 1916, we moved again. This time to the Gustav Rosenthal farm. Here, my sister Edna was born in 1917. The school we attended here was the Fischer school, and there were five of us. Hazel, Bernard, myself, Merrill and Reuben Thorstad.

The railroad came through to Grenora in the fall of 1916. Life was becoming much better. This was the hey day of the Maxwell, the Willys-Knight, and the Ford touring car. I recall an invitation from our neighbor, Ole Lee, for the family to go to Medicine Lake to see the country and a ball game. After four blow-outs, we arrived just as the ball game was over - tired and very hungry. In winter time, people gathered in the various homes to play whist [a card game] and dance. One party I

remember was at the Joe Angermeier farm for Cynthia's birthday, January 21st, but don't remember the year. It was very cold weather, and some of the people drove 20 miles with team and sled. George Knutson's accordion was kind of froze up, but Lou Thone plunked away on his banjo, and all had a good time. We now had rural telephones.

In 1920, my dad [Chester Oakes] had purchased a car so he decided on a trip to Minnesota to visit his old home. He was a very poor driver, and looking back on it now, I think it was a miracle we got home safely.

My folks moved to Montana, and my father passed away at Sidney in April 1935. Bernard died in 1963, and my mother now 96 years old is living at 618 W. Nora in Spokane where she has made her home the past 30 years. She is in remarkable health for her age, and enjoys seeing and hearing from friends and relatives.

Hazel's father, **Chester Clarence Oakes, died** on 10 Apr 1935 in Sidney, Richland, Montana. Her mother, **Harriet Oakes**, lived for many more years. She **passed away** on 10 Jul 1968 in Spokane, Spokane County, Washington at 98 years of age. The author can recall visiting her at her rest home the fall prior. She was lively and entertaining even to a 7 year old.

The Six Generation

The Fremstad Line

Before the 1500s, family names were very rare in Norway, being used only among a few elite families. After 1500, family names only very slowly came into use. Even then, they were used inconsistently, and often only used by the urban upper class. By 1801, only 2% of the rural population was using a family name. In 1923, a law was passed requiring all newborn children to be given a family name, but the law didn't require the existing population to adopt one.

For the sake of record keeping, Norwegian family names were simply the first name of the person's father with son/daughter added as a suffix. The daughter of Kristian Enersen would be Kristian's Daughter or Kristiandatter. Jens Pedersen's father's first name would have been Peder (Peter). This can make tracing genealogy in Norway challenging.

The Fremstad Name

This challenge is evident for the Fremstad line. From where did the Fremstad name come? The Fremstad line has few historical records available. It almost appears the name was simply made up.

There is no obvious source for the Fremstad name. A few others coming from Norway had that surname, and there is currently a tiny hamlet in Norway using that name. Neither appears connected with John Fremstad's name though. Perhaps the name was decided upon before the family came to America where surnames were required when immigrating.

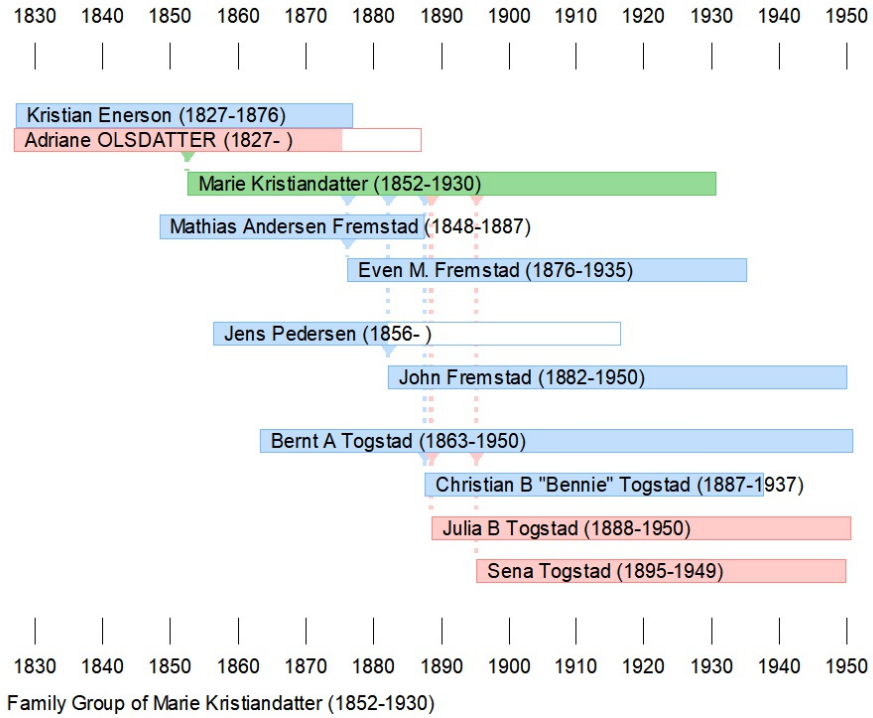
We know that John Fremstad's mother was **Marie Kristiandatter**. His father was probably **Jens Pedersen**, but it might have been Mathias Andersen. Mathias appears to be the father of John's older brother, Even. There are no marriage records for either possibility. Either way, it would not explain the existence of the

Fremstad name.

When Even was married, the church marriage record states his father was Mathias Fremstad, and his mother was Marie Christensen. It would appear by then, the entire family was using the Fremstad name.

Fremstad Time Line

The following time line shows the three husbands and five children of Marie Kristiandatter:



Marie Kristiandatter's Family Members

With few records available, here is a simple time line of the Fremstad family vital statistics:

11 Apr 1827	Kristian (Christen) Enersen born in Klepp, Rogaland, Norway.
1848	Mathias Andersen born in Vardon, Norway.
03 Oct 1852	Marie Kristiandatter born to Kristian Enersen and Adriane Olsdatter in Stavanger, Rogaland, Norway.
1856	Jens Pedersen born.
1875	Marie Kristiandatter possibly married Mathias Andersen [Fremstad].
10 Apr 1876	Even "Ed" Fremstad born in Vardal, Vest-Agder, Norway.
05 Jun 1876	Even Fremstad baptized in Oppland, Norway.
31 Oct 1876	Kristian Enersen died in Stavanger, Rogaland, Norway.
26 Mar 1882	John Fremstad born in Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway.
1887	Mathias Andersen died in Norway.
11 Aug 1930	Marie Kristiandatter died in Brookings, South Dakota.
09 Mar 1935	Even Fremstad died at Luverne, Rock, Minnesota.
18 Jan 1950	John Fremstad died at Spokane, Washington.

Norwegian Immigration to Minnesota

How did the Fremstads and 100,000s of other Norwegians end up in the Minnesota and Dakotas region?

In Norway, improved farming techniques led to food surpluses that doubled the Norwegian population between 1750 and 1850. That growth was unsustainable due to unpredictable growing conditions, short summers, and smaller fish stocks.

The Norwegians were forced to leave their country due to over population and a poor economy. Young people saw emigration as the only way to maintain their way of life. In the 1840s and 1850s accounts such as that of the settler Ole Rynning convinced 10,000s of Norwegians that emigrating would solve their problems.

In 1862, the Dakota war ended with Dakota Indians be resettled onto reservations, and land in that region was opened for settlement giving the Norwegians a destination. 100,000s of Norwegians came to Minnesota between 1851 and 1920, with an average of more than 18,000 leaving Norway for America every year. By 1910, the US Census counted one million Norwegian Americans.

Bergen Norway, 1860s

Most of the Norwegian immigrants, particularly those migrating from 1860 to the early 1900s were members of the Church of Norway, a Lutheran denomination. The Church of Norway became the state church in 1020. Until 1845, it was the only legal church in Norway, and all citizens were required to be members.

Even once Norwegians weren't required, most continued to be Lutheran.

John Fremstad

John Fremstad was **born** 26 Mar 1882 in Ringsaker, Hedmark, Norway to Jens Pedersen and Maria Kristiandatter. Jens and Marie were unmarried servants. Jens took care of livestock. Marie made pastries, and traveled from manor to manor selling them.

There is confusion as to whether John's father was Peder Jensen or Jens Pedersen. John's marriage record to Hazel states his father was Jens Petersen and his mother was Marie Christensen.

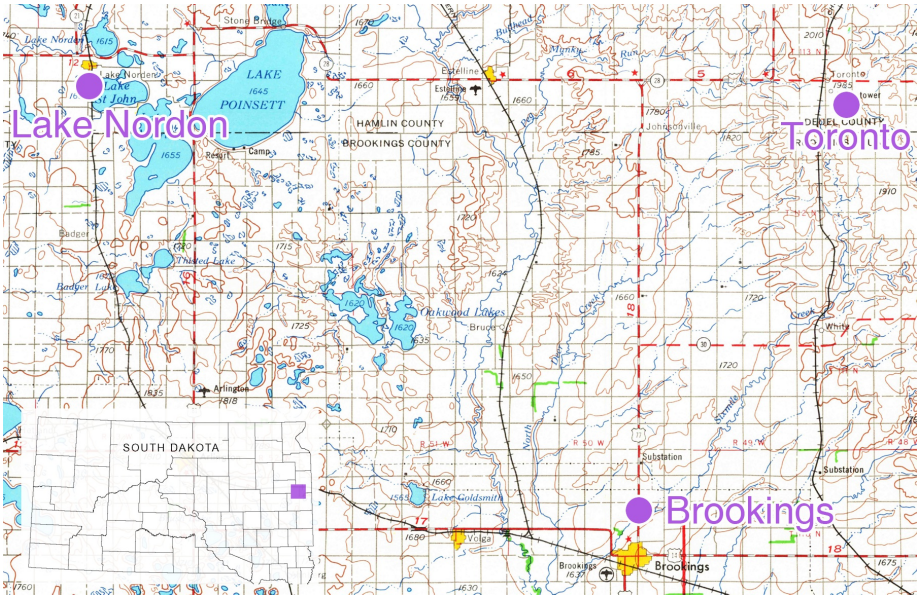
John's brother, **Even "Ed" Fremstad**, was **born** 6 years before John on 10 Apr 1876. Even emigrated to the United States in 1888 or 1889 and lived in South Dakota. Even secured a job for his little brother, John, who emigrated in Jun 1894.

John came to America at the age of 12. It is said he came only with the clothes on his back, a pocket knife, and a straw hat. The straw hat blew off into the ocean.

From Trail of the Pioneers:

> John Fremstad was born at Hamar, Norway March 28, 1882 [Hamar is a town close to Ringsaker]. He came to the U.S. at the age of 12 years to join a brother Ed Fremstad at Toronto, [Deuel County,] South Dakota. He grew to manhood in that vicinity working for various farmers.

He started working as a chore boy for a family with five girls in Brookings, South Dakota. In the 1900 census, John was working as a servant for Nicolas Salem and family in Norden, Duel County, South Dakota. He was 18, had attended school (through 6th grade), and could read and write. In 1900, his brother had moved, and was living 80 miles away in Herrick, South Dakota.

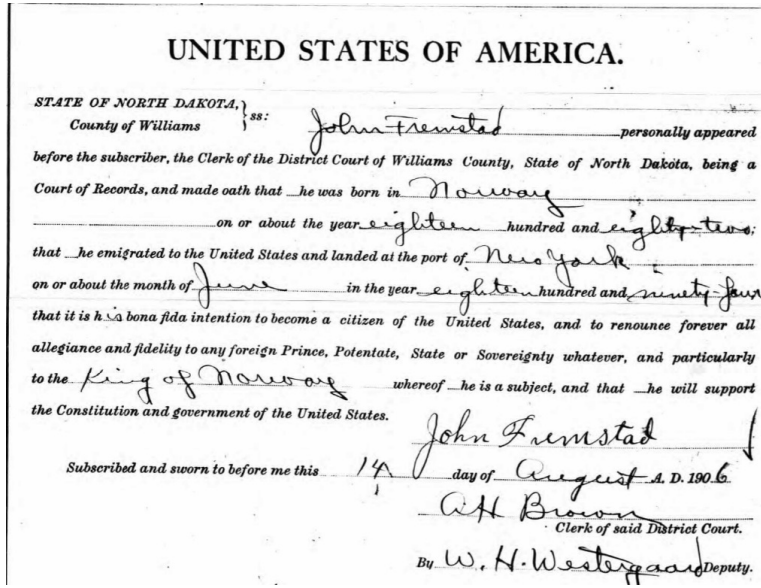


Early Residences of John Fremstad in South Dakota

In 1906, at the age of 24, John signed the papers declaring his intention to become an U.S. citizen. He was living in Williams County, North Dakota by that time.

In 1908 he came to Williston, North Dakota, and filed on a homestead in Barr Butte Township, near Grenora, North Dakota.

The 1910 census found John working as a servant for the David Haskett family in Barr Butte Township, Williams County, North Dakota. David Haskett owned the farm the Oakes would move to in 1914. John was still single and 28 years old. In 1912, he became an American citizen, while living in Williams County, North Dakota.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, County of Williams } ss: John Fremstad personally appeared before the subscriber, the Clerk of the District Court of Williams County, State of North Dakota, being a Court of Records, and made oath that he was born in Norway on or about the year eighteen hundred and eighty-two; that he emigrated to the United States and landed at the port of New York on or about the month of June in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-four that it is h is bona fida intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty whatever, and particularly to the King of Norway whereof he is a subject, and that he will support the Constitution and government of the United States.

John Fremstad

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14 day of August A. D. 1906

A H Brown
Clerk of said District Court.

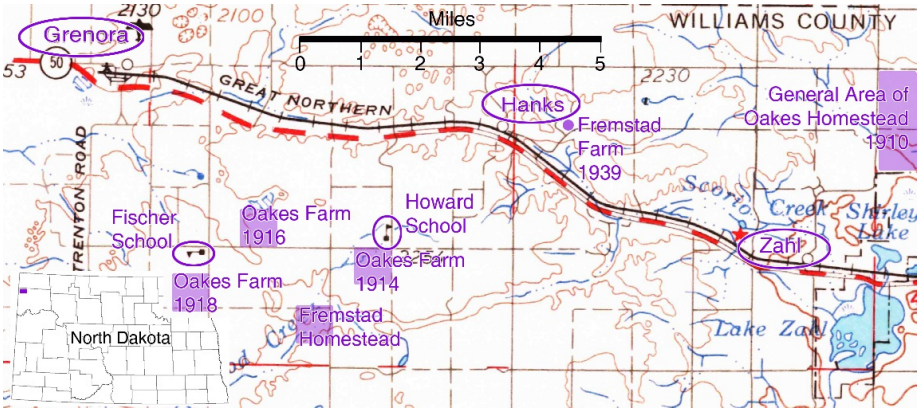
By W. H. Westergaard Deputy.

John Fremstad Declaration of Naturalization

John Fremstad

Hazel Winifred Oakes

Hazel Winifred Oakes was **born** on 22 May 1903 in Clitherall, Otter Tail, Minnesota to Chester Clarence and Harriet Oakes.



Barr Butte Township, North Dakota, Points of Interest

Hazel recalled this event in Clitherall when she was 2 or 3 (about 1905):

> One of my early recollections was of having a family picnic in Minnesota - we were in a wooded area some place near a lake. I was sitting on a log. They gave me some bean soup, and wham, a big frog hopped up on the log and right into my soup. I screamed and everybody laughed.
>
> Raymond [her brother] and I were playing hide and go seek one evening. There was a large pantry that Mother had her churn dasher hanging on a nail. Raymond knocked that down and it hit him on the head. It was easy to find him then. There was some pretty loud wails coming out of the pantry.
>
> One place we lived we were just up the hill a ways from Clitherall Lake - I would run down there and lay on my stomach on the dock and catch minnows. Then I would let them go again.

Hazel recalled their move from Clitherall to North Dakota in 1908 (there is some overlap in Hazel's story and her sister Grace's story already seen, but the author wishes to maintain their full stories):

> When I was 5 years old, my folks migrated to North Dakota. Dad got a box car and they loaded the machinery, stock, and feed for them and all our household belongings in that car. My dad and Raymond rode in the car on some sacks of feed and hay. Mother, Grace, and I, and Bernard, who was the baby, rode on passenger train to Williston. The seats were not padded, as they are now, and there was a pot bellied stove in one corner for heat. I can remember Mother complaining of how tired her back was and three kids to feed and watch. I'm sure she would have had to pack lunch for us, as well as the men.
>
> We moved into a big old sod house two miles north of Williston. It must have been very dirty because Mother covered a lot of the walls with cheese cloth to make it clean. We lived there for 2 years.

Sod House in Williams County, North Dakota

In the 1910 census, the Oakes family was living in Barr Butte Township, Williams County, North Dakota. Chester Oakes was working as a farm laborer, and they owned their house free and clear. Along with Hazel, her older brother Raymond, and younger siblings Grace and Chester Bernard ("Bun") were living there.

Hazel recalled her family's move from Williston to Zahl, 20 miles north:

> We moved there [to Williston] in spring of 1908. Two years later [1910], we moved out on a homestead near Zahl. My dad filed on 160 acres of land. He hauled lumber out, and

built a two room house. He built a barn for 6 or 8 horses.

One bright sunny morning in the last days of March, we headed for the homestead with horses and wagons loaded with beds, stoves, and all the necessary things - two cows behind each of the two wagons. It was a beautiful warm day. We had nearly 40 miles to drive. We stopped at noon for lunch and to rest the stock, and we could get out and run around. We got to the homestead just about dusk. Two neighbors saw us coming so they were there to help unload and set up stoves and get the fires going; get the beds in and set up. I don't know how my poor folks survived that. How cold that bedding must have been!

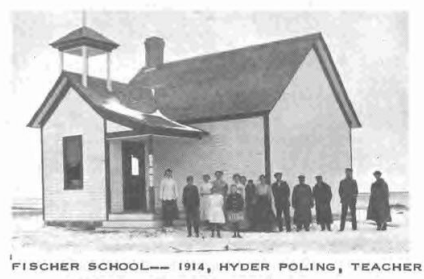
There were many anxious times that first summer. Dad had to go back to Williston to work, so we were there alone. Raymond was 13 years old. He had to take a man's place. Dad made a stone boat so as to get a garden patch cleared. Dad came home on the weekends, so he got the garden ground ready.

There were many forest fires that spring - the air would get so heavy with smoke and you could even smell it. We had an open well that we had to draw water from. Mother would fill the tubs and all the pails and have it by the house. But it turned out to just be smoke.

We only had a small fence at first. Grace and I had to herd the cows so we knew where they were. So much prairies and hills and valleys. We didn't want them to get very far away at first. There was lots of grass every place. Also, lots of garter snakes which we were scared of at first.

I was 7 years old that May [1910]. I started school in the fall. We had a mile and half to walk across the prairie to school [the Hartland school in Blue Ridge Township]. My first teacher was a man. His name was Olaf Garter. There weren't too many kids enrolled until later when the fall

work was done; then there were quite a number of older kids that came, especially boys.



Fischer School in Barr Butte

We lived on our homestead for about four years, I think [to 1914]. Then we moved up to Howard on another farm. We had a larger house and barn, etc. The school house was just a short ways. Howard consisted of a store and post office combined, a bank, dance hall, and restaurant. They also had church and Sunday School in the hall. We thought we were really big shots!

There were lots of kids to play with, including the Jeffreys. I think Grandma Jeffrey was the first Saint I had ever seen. She was a very dear lady. I was there one Sunday afternoon. She made her kids all come in and sit down very quietly and reverent. Then we sang hymns for a while. She also read some from the Bible. After that we could all go and play again.

I remember trying to harness the dog up to our little wagon. We had enough string to hang him with. That was our harness. Hugh Jeffrey had a very nice riding horse. Grace and I had a big old horse that was given us to ride. But I loved to ride him if we could have the saddle for him. I could even get him to trot a little by punching him in the stomach with my heel.

Howard Post Office 1910

Bernard hated school. He wasn't going one morning.

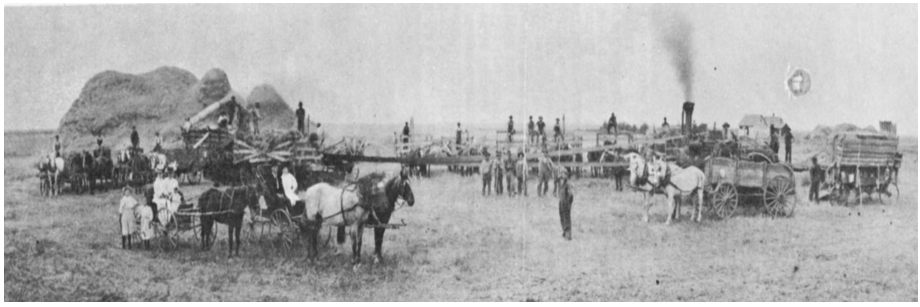
He went out and climbed up on the side of the fresh straw pile. Grace and I went out and ganged up on him and got him down. He was mad at us all the way to school.

Two or three years later [1916], we moved to the Gust Rosenthall place where they had built a new house. We were the first one to live in it. That is now the old Frank Larson place. We kids went to the Fisher School then. That was just a mile to walk. Edna, my sister, was born while we lived there. Our next move was to the Hellik Garass place.

The next spring [1919], I went to Frank Larson's to work after school and on Saturdays as she almost died with the flu and was pregnant. I stayed on during the summer and until threshing time.

That was the summer [1919] Dad was courting me. He bought a brand new model T 1918 model. I really was proud to ride in that car. He even taught me how to drive it. When threshing time came, my dad [Chester] had Grace and I to cook and work in the cook car. We had about 28-30 men to cook for and we had to bake the bread and do everything. Some times you had to move to another place before dinner. What a struggle. Guess who moved the cook car? None other than John Fremstad. It was really rough for us two young girls, but I expect the men thought it was really hell for them, the kind of cooking we did. About like the army - ha!

As soon as threshing was done, John and I got married. We lived sort of a blissful winter - played cards a lot of the time, went to a few dances and shows. Went to Ma's house a lot to eat. In fact, my dad thought he was going broke feeding us. Ha!



Threshing in Barr Butte

John Fremstad married Hazel Winifred Oakes on 23 Oct 1919 in Plentywood, Sheridan County, Montana. He was 37 and she was 16. After their wedding, they resided in Grenora, North Dakota.

In a letter to her daughter, Laurel, written 23 Oct 1982, Hazel recalled the day of their wedding:

> There was a snow storm and cold and slippery as the dickens. We didn't leave Plentiwood until about 4:00 or even a little later, but when we got back to grandma's [Harriet Oakes], Grace had the potatoes cooking and I don't remember what we had for meat, but she had the table set.
>
> So we ate supper about 7:00. Uncle [Raymond] walked over and invited Ole Lee to come over. Grandma had a real nice layer cake baked I remember. John and I stayed there overnight, so that was our little celebration. We went to our little shack the next day and John carried me in.

The 1920 census found the Fremstads living in Barr Butte Township, Williams County, North Dakota. They had a mortgage. John was working as a farmer, and Hazel as a homemaker. They had no children yet.

Olive Hazel Fremstad was born to John and Hazel Fremstad on 15 May 1920, their first child. They were living near Grenora most likely on his homestead. By 1925, the North Dakota state census reported they had three children. By the time of the 1930 census, they were still living in the same area, possibly in the same location with 5 children.

John and Hazel Fremstad Wedding Day

Hazel recalled these times:

> It was hard times in the 20s, and in the 30s it was worse. Hardly any rain, but we did manage to raise a lot of potatoes, but they didn't grow very big - about the size of walnuts. I cooked them with the jackets on, then there was two or three kids not big enough to peel them. I can remember sitting at the table nursing the baby, Norma, and peeling all those small potatoes so they could all get something to eat. I'm sure Dad helped with them too, if he had time.
>
> We had a lot of rough times, but we had a lot of good times too, as a family. One evening, Dad was playing the violin. Norma was probably about four years old then. They were all dancing, circling around. Norma said, "some of you snots can sing now and let me dance".

Windows Blocked to Prevent Dust - Williams County, ND

> The winter before Laurel was born, we were at the Ross farm for a dance. They had a big house. Of course I was too big and clumsy to dance, but John was having a good time. I finally got so tired I told Olive to go and ask Dad to go home. He was on the floor dancing. Olive came out there and hollered, "John, Mama wants to go home." They all roared at that. She was a character anyway. She was always saying such funny things.

Laurel Fremstad wrote of her early childhood about this time:

> The 4th of July always held a very prominent place in our minds, if not our lives. A few times we were privileged to go to Brush Lake for a picnic with friends or grandma and grandpa Oakes.
>
> Brush Lake is a very large lake just inside the Montana line. During my young years, there was a huge dance pavilion there and an ice cream and popcorn stand plus a bar. There was a boardwalk all the way around the pavilion and we would stand out there and watch the people dance in the early evening.

Robert Haney, Carol Fremstad, Richard, Haney at Bush Lake, 1941

Laurel wrote of their struggles during the depression:

> Once during the depression years, my dad was short of cash and we needed so many things. Dad called a cattle buyer to come out and he thought he would sell some calves. When the buyer came, he offered Dad only $5 a piece for the calves, yearlings. Dad was so discouraged. He came in and sat down at the kitchen table for dinner and cried. I laughed at him, and now I would give my life to be able to tell my dad how sorry I am for laughing when he was so desperate to make ends meet.

Hazel Oakes Fremstad was **baptized** on 22 May 1932, as an adult, into the Lutheran Church at St. Olaf Church in Grenora.

The 1940 census reported the Fremstad family rented a farm in the Scorio township, which is adjacent to the Barr Butte township. By 1940, the Fremstads had lost their homestead.

They were having financial problems which may have necessitated the move. On the census, John Fremstad reported that he had received public emergency work with the WPA. He had 28 months of unemployment prior to the census though he said he had worked the 40 hours prior to the census. His occupation was listed as grain farmer.

Laurel Fremstad wrote:

> That fall [1936] we lost our farm and believe me, it was a great change in all our lives but I can only guess how mother and Dad must have felt. Yet they kept it all concealed from us kids.
>
> In the fall of that year, the folks told us we were moving to Hanks since both Olive and I would be attending high school. How well I remember moving day with all its fears.

Hanks 1918

> When the first wagon was loaded, Dad hooked up the horses and told Olive to start out and go straight north from the Lawrence Clemetson place. That road (a trail really) took her down through the hills west of Hanks and on to the highway. I was so fearful for Olive, imagining what might happen if the wagon were to run over the horses' heels. Imagine my surprise when we got to Hanks and there was Olive, safe and sound!
>
> The house we moved into had only three rooms - bedroom living room, and kitchen. The bedroom was long and narrow

with space for 2 double beds, the crib, and the dresser. The kitchen was so small, it just barely held the cookstove, the kitchen cabinet, and the cream separator. On top of that, the place was infested with bed bugs!

Dad had been working on the PWA [Public Works Administration, part of Roosevelt's New Deal programs] all the past summer and continued to do so far a couple or three more years. All he earned in wages was $40 per month but we also sold milk in town and had our own eggs, milk, and butter.

All our family were farmers at heart, and after living in town for about three years, the folks decided to move out to the Sorenson mine northeast of Hanks [Falk Mine, Scorio Township, SE corner of section 7, 1939]. There we had a two bedroom house, a large living room, very large kitchen and a pantry. There was a barn and tool shed and space for a large garden. We had horses, cows, pigs, chickens, and goats. During that summer Dad worked for Bob Ring near Zahl and earned $80 per month.

When school was out [1940], mom and dad had decided to move back into Hanks in a little house right by the school house.

Hanks

Hanks was a small village located between the Scorio hills in the valley of the Scorio Creek. Hanks was founded in 1916 when The Great Northern Railroad was building a line through the area. The Northern Town and land Company of Minnesota sent W. F. Hanks to purchase land for their proposed towns along this railway. He bought part of the N E section of Barr Butte township from Maggie Lyman. It was originally called Mesa. The name was changed to honor W. F. Hanks.

Fremstad Family Portrait: 1944 or 45: Laurel, Phyllis, Kermit, Josie, Olive, Norma, Donald, John, Carol, Hazel [holding] Mary

Norma, Mary, Hazel, Herb Greve, Donald, Carol, Josie, Olive, Sharon Greve, anon, Richard Haney

Fremstad House near Hanks about 1945

Fremstad House about 1944

John Fremstad and brothers Chris and Even (Ed)

John and Hazel Fremstad in Spokane

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 31, 1948.

s Beauty, Hard Work and Much Play

It has been many years since the city has had to spend any such amount of money as this year in keeping streets clear of accumulated snow. Left to right, B. J. Reipart, A. A. C[illegible]ty, William Purcell and John Frenstad work at Sharp and Monroe.

John Fremstad (far right) at work in Spokane Street Dept
31 Dec 1948

At the urging of son Kermit and Hazel's mother, Harriet Oakes, (both whom were living in Spokane), the Fremstad family moved to Spokane. According to *Trail of the Pioneers*, they moved in August of 1947. John Fremstad got a job with the Spokane city street department while Hazel washed dished at the Pine Shed, an eatery on Division street near where they lived on Indiana Street. She also cleaned houses, and did washing and ironing for others.

On 23 Oct 1949, John and Hazel Fremstad celebrated their 30th wedding anniversary. Three months later, **John Fremstad died** 18 Jan 1950.

Laurel Fremstad wrote of his death:

> My dad was working on the city street department. They worked around the clock to try to keep up with the snow removal. Dad wasn't feeling good - complained of sore throat and aching arms. He went to Dr. Baker, and he thought Dad had flu so prescribed a couple kinds of pills for him. However, flu was not his problem. The trouble was really with his heart but the doctor evidently did not check that. Dad passed away from coronary thrombosis the morning after he had been admitted to the hospital. He died on January 18th and his funeral was on Monday the 23rd. It was such a terribly cold day - 25 below zero. We were all so glad he didn't have to lay and suffer but his passing surely left a void in our lives.

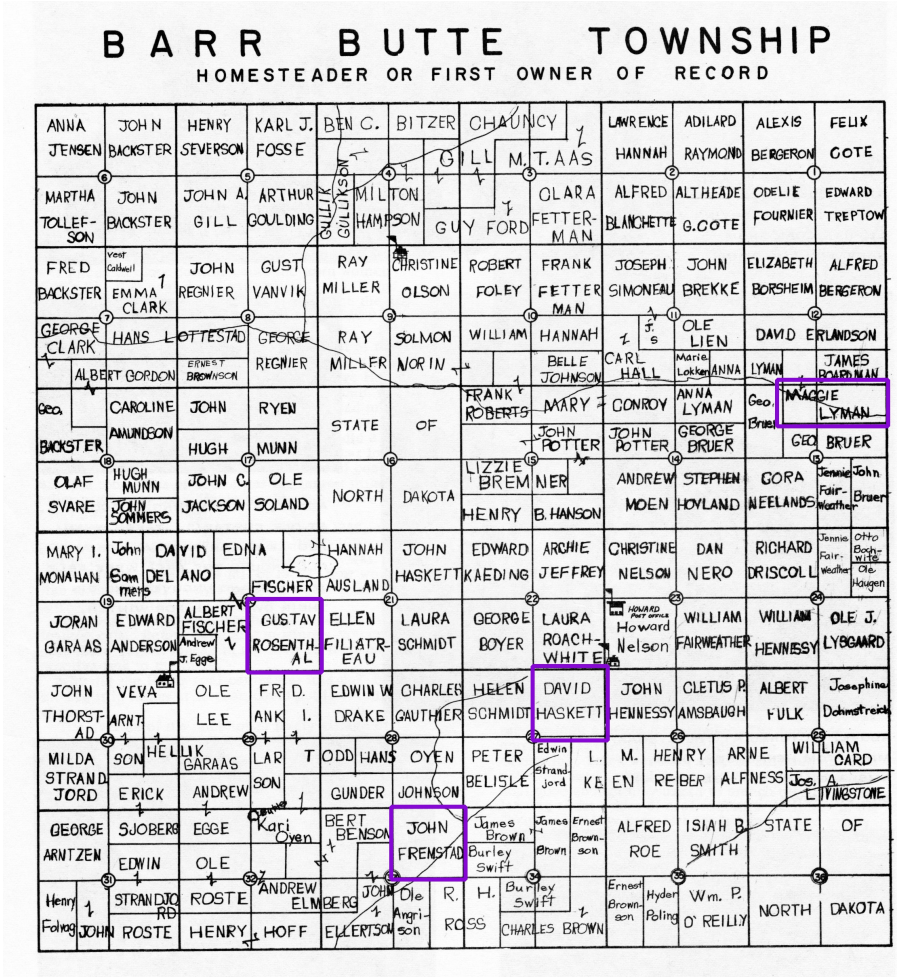
The 1950 census reported Hazel Fremstad living at 224 W Indiana Street in Spokane. Still living with her were youngest 3 children - Donald, Carol, and Mary. Upstairs lived her mother, Harriet Oakes, and Harriet's sister, Clara Lorilla Oakes Whiting (who had married Isaac Whiting's son, Llewllyn Whiting).

Hazel married George Shackette in 1975. They bought a mobile home, and put it in a court on Nora street several blocks from Euclid Avenue where she had lived for years. In 1980, **George Shackette** passed away.

Hazel Fremstad died on 16 May 1986 in Spokane, Washington and is buried at the Fairmont Memorial Park in Spokane.

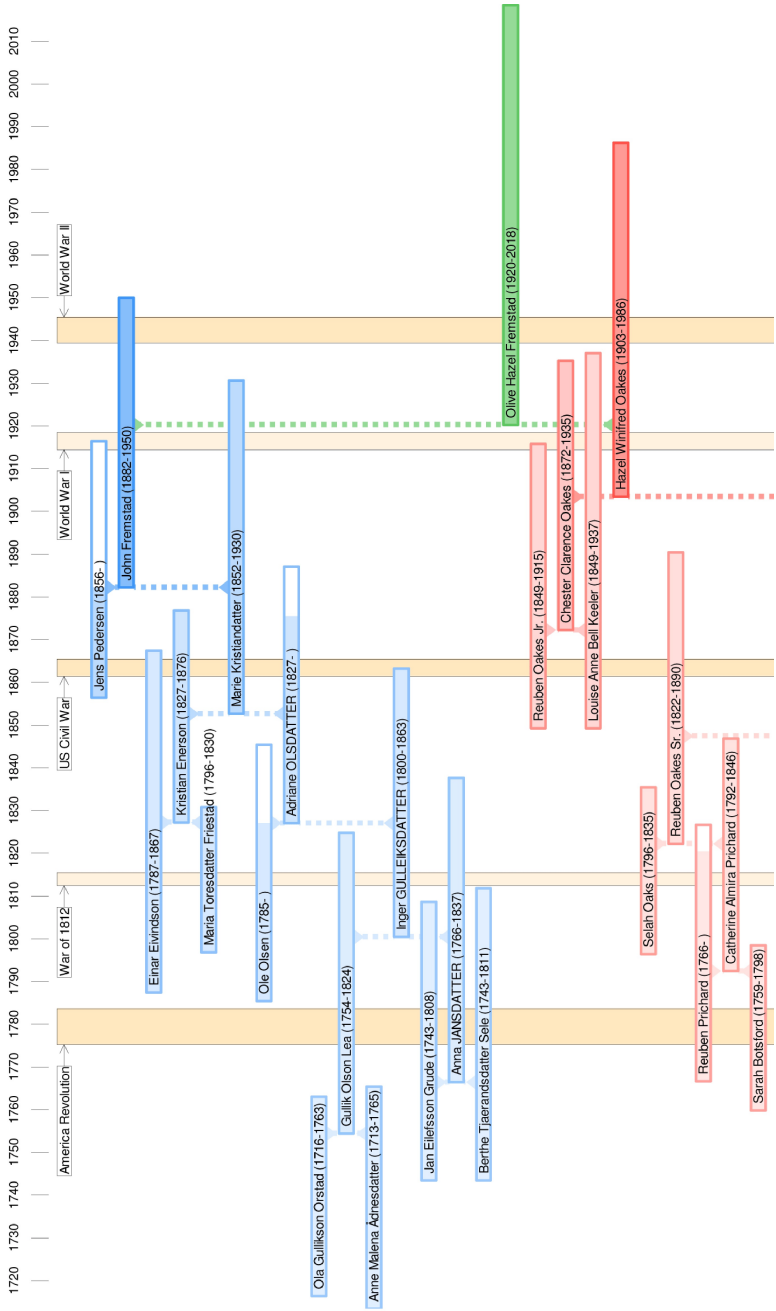
Appendices

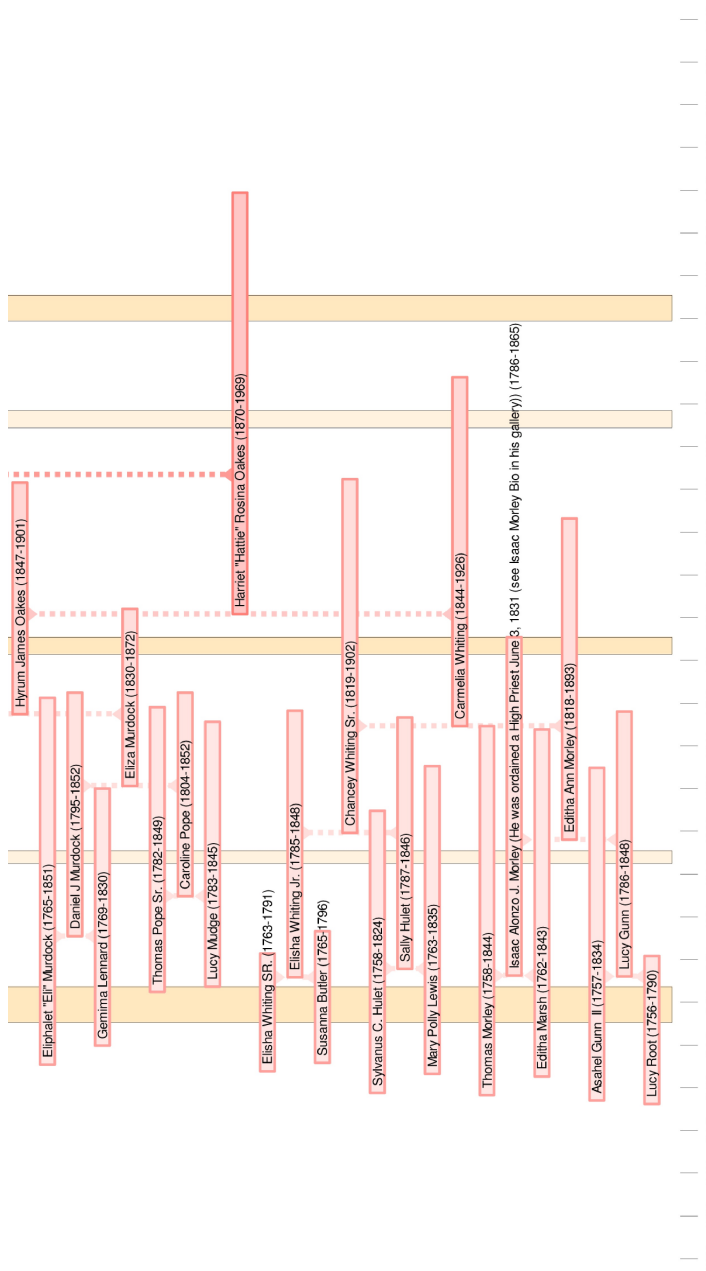
First Owner of Record for Barr Butte Township



Areas marked are homesteads of settlers mentioned in the story.

Fremstad / Oakes Time Line





7-Generation Pedigree of Olive Hazel Fremstad (1920-2018)

Attributions

Created by author:

- Pedigree charts were created using Genelines 3 software. The Fan ancestor chart was created with RootsMagic®.
- This book was written using WordPerfect ®.
- The Ancestor Movements map was created by the author.
- Map of Southwest Iowa Points of Interest was drawn by Author using freely available SVG county map of Iowa.
- The old topographic maps I used for base maps are from the U.S. Geological Survey, Department of the Interior/USGS.
- Inset maps of state counties I used are free maps from yellowmaps.com.
- Alberta Points of Interest. The base map of Alberta plus the inset map are both the same SVG map from wikiMedia.
- Family pictures are from the author's personal collection as is the picture of the Clitherall Train station.

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- The Picture of Alpheus Cutler was taken prior to Jun 10, 1864. It is in the public domain.
- The painting, Route of the Mormon Pioneers from Nauvoo to Great Salt Lake is from WikiMedia who obtained it from Library of Congress. See
  https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4051s.ct001119/
  It was published before 1922 and is in the public domain.
- The Mormon Missouri War map.

Others:

- The Population Density Map of 1790 was published by the Federal Government in 1790.
- Etching of "The Family" commune outside Kirtland, Ohio (illustration Brigham Young University).
  https://emp.byui.edu/satterfieldb/rel341/Isaac%20Morley%20Farm.htm
- The Map of the Mohawk Trail is available on familysearch.org. It was drawn by user DiltsGD in 2011 and he released it into the public domain.
- The photograph of Joseph Smith's former home, taken in 1907 was taken by George Anderson who died in 1928. All copy rights prior to 1928 have expired thus this picture is in the public domain.
- The photograph of Isaac Morley was taken before his death in 1865. It is in the public domain.
- The story of Cordelia Morley's wedding to Joseph Smith Jr. was found in Wikipedia under *List of Joseph Smith's wives*.

Quotes by the Whitings, Murdocks, E.E. Corliss, and George Hammer from the Clitherall period came from *A Clitherall Story Book*.

Quote from Grace Oaks comes from *The Trail of the Pioneers*.

The source material for the Oakes in Canada largely comes from James Oakes' *Homesteading in Canada*.

Some of my sources for biographical sketches can be found in Ancestry.com, FamilySearch.com, and FindAGrave.com.

Wikipedia was as a source for non-genealogical history, pictures, and for personages of historical significance such as Joseph Smith and Isaac Morley.

Some of the family pictures were colorized by www.img2go.com.

2nd Edition Updates

I created the 2nd edition of this book only to change the copyright to a Creative Commons copyright (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). I didn't use this copyright originally only because I didn't think Amazon would allow it. The new copyright allows you to copy and share the book and even make changes as long as you do NOT charge money, and you credit the author for the original work.

Since writing this book, I have written a book about the Fremstad side of the family called *From Fjord to Prairie: The Family Story of Marie Kristiansdatter*. In this book I was able to precisely document John Fremstad's mother, father, and all of his siblings. This book, *The Strength of Oakes*, is incorrect in certain facts for that side of the family.

Since my intent in the 2nd edition is to just change the copyright and the new book can be downloaded for free (or purchased on Amazon if you prefer), I will not attempt to correct this book in regards to the Fremstad side of the family. If you want more information on John's lineage, please refer to that book.